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# MAN in INDIA.

W. I.

1921

A Quarterly Record of Anthropological  
Science with special Reference  
to India.

*Edited by*

RAJ BAHAUDUR SARAT C

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SWEET & ZELLINGER



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Vol. 1  
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A Quarterly Record of Anthropological  
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*Edited by*

RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M. A., B. L., M. L. C.



Vol. 1  
1921

**RANCHI.**



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by

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Volume 1 no. 2, the pages 1-56 are wrongly numbered  
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# MAN IN INDIA.

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Vol. I. } MARCH, 1921. } No. 1.

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## A SUGGESTED PROGRAMME FOR ANTHROPOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION IN INDIA.

By W. CROOKE, B.A., D.Sc. (OXON) C.I.E., J.C.S., (retired).

The Editor of this new Journal, devoted to the study of the People of India, has invited me to contribute a note suggesting certain lines of enquiry for the many Indian scholars who, I hope, will be numbered among its contributors and supporters.

I accept this invitation with much diffidence. So many years have passed since my retirement from the Civil Service of India that although I have endeavoured to the best of my ability to keep myself informed regarding the anthropological work which has been done in India, much of it has necessarily escaped my notice. On the other hand, in consequence of my association with several scholars in Great Britain and Ireland who are engaged in investigating the problems of comparative religion, ethnography and folklore, I am, to some extent, able to express the views which they hold on the questions which demand enquiry, and on the methods of investigation.

## 2 *Programme for Anthropological Investigation.*

Although much good work in this direction has been done by Englishmen and Indians, much remains to be done. It is hardly too much to say that scholars in Europe are in possession of more precise information regarding the native tribes of America, Africa and Australia than of the races of India. Early works, like those of W. Ward and the Abbe Dubois, valuable as they undoubtedly are, suffer from the natural prejudices of the writers. Treatises on the Tribes and Castes which have been compiled in various Provinces of India do not fully supply the materials which students in Europe and elsewhere demand. These works have been compiled under the orders of the Local Governments, not so much in the interests of anthropological research, but as indispensable aids to the work of civil administration. And the wants of the Magistrate-Collector and those of the anthropologist are very different.

Hence it appears to me that the time has come for more minute and intensive studies of the smaller groups, and for investigation of special problems connected with religion and sociology, rather than for accounts of the people of a Province or even of a single District. To name a few examples almost at random—books like Mr. Denys Bray's "Life History of a Brahui", Mr. F. Fawcett's accounts of the Nayars and Nambuthiri Brahmins, the Editor's monographs on the Mundas and Oraons, and some of the descriptions of the wilder tribes of Assam, issued by the Local Government, furnish the kind of material which is most likely to serve the purposes of the Scientific scholar.

I would, therefore, venture to suggest to Indian enquirers, in the first place, that they would do good service to science if they would compile full, comprehensive accounts of Hindu and Musalman domestic ceremonies: birth, initiation, marriage, and death. For this purpose examples should be taken from the various ranks of Indian society, beginning with the higher groups who follow, more or less completely, the orthodox ritual, down to those in the very lowest grades. It must be remembered that such accounts cannot be too comprehensive and detailed, and they should include, with translations, the formulae, such as the Mantras, songs, and the like, which form part of the ritual. For the ancient ritual the celebrated essays of Mr. H. T. Colebrooke should be revised, extended, and brought up to date in the light of the knowledge which has been gained in the period of more than a century since they were written.

Secondly, foreign scholars know little of Hindu temple ritual, to which Europeans do not enjoy access. We need fuller accounts of the ritual at holy places, like Jagannath, Tirupati, Benares, or Kamakhya; still more at local shrines devoted to the cult of some special god or goddess. The cults of Devi in her manifold forms, of Ganesha, Hanuman, Aiyanar, require special attention, because here the Sacred Books furnish little information. We also lack information regarding the worship of the local village deities and of that current among isolated tribes like Gonds, Korwas or Badagas. The survivals of Buddhism in Bengal and the influence of this religion on Vaishnavism and other Hindu cults demand attention.

#### *4      Programme for Anthropological Investigation.*

Thirdly, we desire much wider knowledge of the organisation of the Fakir Orders, Hindu and Musalman ; the classes from which novices are recruited, the ritual of initiation, the internal structure, discipline and regulations of each Order.

Fourthly, the history, beliefs and teaching of the great Saints, Hindu and Musalman, deserve attention.

Fifthly, our knowledge of Magic in its various forms is very imperfect. The questions of spirit possession, exorcism, healing at holy places or by suggestion deserve enquiry.

Sixthly, if Tribes and Castes are to be studied, it must be in detail. Much of what is already on record is merely superficial. It remains for those who have facilities to take a certain number of selected castes or tribes, from the highest to the lowest, and compile in the form of a monograph all that can be learned about them. The enquirer should studiously avoid consulting what has already been written on the subject of any particular caste until his work is done. In the case of the higher castes much information, as yet not collected, is in the hands of the Bhats and scattered in local histories, Settlement Reports, and similar literature. The questionnaire issued by the Royal Anthropological institute will be useful in drawing attention to points on which enquiry is necessary.

This may seem to be an ambitious programme, but it is, I believe, not beyond the means of anthropologists, European and Indian, working in India. It would not be difficult to suggest additional lines of investigation, as, for example, folk tales and folklore. Indian scholars can do much to solve the problem, how much of the tales current in Europe are derived

from India. There is, again, the question of the Arab or Persian influence on the Indian folk tales. For instance, a collection of tales from Kashmīr, now about to be published, shows resemblances to those in the "Arabian Nights" which it is difficult to explain except on the hypothesis of borrowing. In this connexion the Persian tales recently published by Major Lorimer are of great importance and deserve investigation by some scholars in India.

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## KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE IN INDIA.

By W. H. R. RIVERS, M. D., D. SC., LL. D., F. R. S.

The detailed study of the social organisation of the different peoples of the earth is a crying need of anthropology. The fundamental place of such institutions as kinship and marriage in human society is itself one of the chief obstacles to their study, for they have become such essential constituents of every human society and are so necessary to its harmonious activity that they attract far less attention than the more obvious features of ritual, mythology and material culture. Among the lesser known peoples of India we have material which would make volumes on ritual and religious belief for every page devoted to records of kinship and of the social, as opposed to the religious, aspect of marriage. The purpose of this paper is to call attention to a few problems presented by Indian sociology for the solution of which we are in urgent need of further evidence.

I will begin with certain aspects of social organisation which are peculiar to India and therefore of special interest to the sociologist. The characteristic feature of India from the sociological point of view is the caste system, with its complicated meshwork of injunctions and restrictions. This has so excited the interest of students, both Indian and European, that we are now in possession of abundant material for comparative study, but even here there are

doubtless details still awaiting the patient collector of social facts. It is in the case of some aberrant marriage customs which form departures from the endogamy of the caste-system proper that much further knowledge is to be desired. Thus, India is the seat of the peculiar practice known as hypergamy, in which men of social groups of high rank take wives from groups of lower rank, but do not give their women in return. There is reason to believe that this practice forms an intermediate process between the strict endogamy of the orthodox caste-system and the state found in other parts of the world where difference of rank presents no insuperable bar to inter-marriage.

We need to know far more about the distribution of this practice. There is little doubt that it is primarily an institution of the Rajputs, and when it is present in other parts of India has been due to their influence, but in several cases where it has been recorded, as among the Khonds and in Southern India, there is at present no evidence of such influence ; and further information, both historical and ethnographical, is needed for the elucidation of its nature.

Another special form of marriage which is almost peculiar to India is polyandry. This practice occurs in other parts of the world, as among the purely pastoral Bahima of Africa, and in a modified form in some islands of the Pacific, but nowhere except in India has it become such a highly organised practice as that we find among the Todas. Here also we need further evidence about the distribution, not only of polyandry proper, but also of relations be-

tween a woman and her husband's brothers which may be connected with this form of marriage. When we seek to learn why this peculiar institution should have made its appearance in India it becomes of great importance to know with what other customs it is associated. We already know of two such associations, viz, with hypergamy where that institution exists, and with female infanticide both there and where, as among the Todas, there is no evidence of hypergamy. Only when we are in possession of far more facts about these and other associations of polyandry can we expect to solve the riddle of its origin and development.

To pass from marriage customs peculiar to India to those it shares with other parts of the world, we may first take the institution known as the cross-cousin marriage. This is to be carefully distinguished from the marriage of cousins which takes place, both in India and elsewhere, among the Mussalmans, in that in the cross-cousin marriage the cousins who are allowed, or even compelled, to marry are the children of brother and sister. This marriage has three different forms. The most frequent, both in India and elsewhere, is that in which a man should marry the daughter either of his mother's brother or of his father's sister. In the second form he should marry the daughter of his mother's brother and is not allowed to marry the daughter of his father's sister. In the third form, which is the least frequent in others parts of the world, and so far as existing evidence goes also equally rare in India, a man should marry the daughter of his father's sister. Here we need evidence not only concerning the exact distribu-

tion of the three varieties, but also, as in the case of polyandry, we need to know with what other practices each form of marriage is associated. We also require to know the existence of any customs, such as payment to the sister's son at the marriage of a daughter, which may be relics of this form of marriage.<sup>1</sup> In view of the explanation of the cross-cousin marriage put forward by Mr. F. J. Richards,<sup>2</sup> it is also important to know of any custom connected with property which are connected with marriages of this kind.

There is reason to believe that in Melanesia and Australia the cross-cousin marriage is associated with the dual organisation of society in which the whole community is divided into two exogamous moieties, so that a man of one moiety must marry a woman of the other moiety, and *vice versa*. It therefore becomes of great importance to know whether there is any evidence of this form of the social organisation in India. So far as I am aware, it has hitherto only been recorded among the Gonds of the Central Provinces,<sup>3</sup> and perhaps it has only arisen there by a process of reduction of a community which once consisted of a large number of exogamous groups.

Again, the dual organisation of Melanesia is associated with certain peculiar unions in which a man marries the wife or widow of his father's father.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See W. H. R. Rivers, "The Marriage of Cousins in India," *Journ. Roy. Assiat. Soc.*, 1907, p. 611.

<sup>2</sup>*Man*, 1914, vol. xiv, (No. 97), p. 194.

<sup>3</sup>R. V. Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces* London, 1916, iii, 65 and 238.

<sup>4</sup>W. H. R. Rivers. *The History of Melanesian Society*, Cambridge, 1914, i, 203; ii, 53; *Man* 1915, vol. xv, (No. 85), p. 146. See also *Kinship and Social Organisation* London, 1914.

Less frequent is a practice in which he marries his daughter's daughter or the daughter of his sister's son. One consequence of these peculiar forms of marriage is that relatives belonging to alternate generations are classed together in the nomenclature of relationship. Thus, a person gives one and the same term of relationship to his elder brother and his father's father, to his father's mother and his elder brother's wife, and to his mother's brother's son.

We have no direct evidence of marriage between persons of alternate generations in India, either now or in the past, but the Editor of this Journal<sup>5</sup> has recorded examples of the terminology of relationship and features of conduct resembling those which in Melanesia are undoubtedly the consequence of such a form of marriage. At present our knowledge of the systems of relationship of the more backward Indian peoples is very fragmentary. A full record would probably provide material for a reconstruction of the ancient social history of the aboriginal peoples of India such as the study of relationship has made possible in Melanesia.

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<sup>5</sup>S. C. Roy, *The Orāons of Chota Nagpur*, Ranchi 1915, p. 352.

## ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN INDIA.\*

As the object of the present journal is to assist anthropological study and research in India, and to serve as an useful medium for the collection of interesting anthropological information regarding Indian Man, it will not be amiss to begin with a rapid survey of the anthropological work so far done in India so as to be able to form a rough estimate of the enormous work that awaits to be done in the future,—a work in which the active co-operation of all students of Indian Anthropology is confidently expected.

As for lines of scientific enquiry that may be usefully followed by Indian Scholars, suggestions from Western experts will from time to time be published in the journal. Such are the first two articles in this number kindly contributed by two eminent English anthropologists of world-wide fame. In the present paper we shall briefly review the past history of anthropological research in India, and try to understand our present needs and duties.

In reviewing the past history of anthropological research in India, the first thing that strikes the Indian student and makes him hang down his head in shame is that up till the present, almost all that has been accomplished has been the work of European investigators whereas we Indians have culpably neglected to take our proper

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\*This article is an elaboration of the Editor's Presidential Address to the Anthropological section of the Indian Science Congress at its eighth annual meeting held in February 1921.

share in the work. Instead of taking, as we should have done, a leading part in that work, a few of us have contributed in periodicals only occasional papers of ethnological interest written mostly by way of intellectual pastime during intervals of other business; and only a few others have taken generally the minor part of collectors of information for official compilers of Gazetteers and Handbooks on Castes and Tribes. And it must be confessed that hardly any systematic anthropological work by an organized band of devoted workers has yet been seriously attempted in this country. This is all the more to be regretted as but few countries present a wider field for anthropological investigation and afford promise of a richer harvest.

The ethnological work hitherto done in India falls roughly into three classes :—(1) Magazine Articles and Articles in the Journals of learned Societies ; (2) Government Reports and Handbooks on Castes and Tribes ; and (3) Monographs on particular Tribes or Castes.

**It is to the Asiatic Society of Bengal that we owe the beginnings of anthropological investigation in this country.** It is to that **Magazine Articles.** society, the scope of whose inquiries was laid down in 1774 in the inaugural address by its founder and first President Sir William Jones, as "the entire field comprised in the words Man and Nature," that modern research in Indian Ethnography and Ethnology may be said to owe its foundation.

But how insignificant has been the part taken by Indian scholars in laying down those foundations and building up the superstructure may be judged

from the fact that within the first hundred years of the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal—from 1784 to 1883,—out of a little over one hundred anthropological papers published in the Society's Journal and Proceedings, the contributions of Indian writers did not amount to more than three short papers—and those of comparatively minor importance,—namely, one on “The Trial of Ordeal among the Hindus” written by Ali Ibrahim Khan (Magistrate of Benares) and communicated to the Society by Warren Hastings in 1784 (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. I., p. 323), a second on “The Shiaposh Tribe or Reputed Descendants of the Macedonians,” by one Mr. Mohan Lal in 1834 (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. III, p. 76), and a third on “The Esafzai Afghans” by one Khash Ali in 1845 (J. A. S. B., vol. XIV, p. 736). The rest were all from the pens of European writers, mainly, if not wholly; Government officials or Christian missionaries. It was during this period that our first definite knowledge regarding the wild tribes of India began to be gradually accumulated in the pages of the Society's Journal through the contributions mostly of European writers. Thus, our first definite knowledge of the ethnography of the hill tribes of Hindusthan north of the Vindhya was practically derived during this period mostly from articles contributed to the Journal by such pioneer workers as Lieutenant Tickell who, between the years 1840 and 1842, wrote about the Hos of the Singbhum District and the Bendkars of the Keonjhar State, Colonel Sherwell who, in 1851, wrote about the Malers or Paharias of the Rajmahal hills, E. A. Samuels who, in 1858, gave an interesting account of the Juangs

of the Keonjhar and Dhenkanal States in Orissa, Dr. F. L. Stewart who, in 1865, wrote about the Bogshas of Upper India and Colonel Dalton who, between the years 1865 and 1872, contributed several interesting papers about the hill tribes of Chota Nagpur and Orissa.

Similarly, it was during this period that the investigations of such European writers as Dalton, Hodgson, Robinson, Rawlins, Elliott, Rowlatt, MacRae, Wilcox, Reynolds, Barbe, O'Donnell, Otto de Grange, Lieutenant Yule, C. S. Campbell, and Rev. F. Mason, brought together a mass of information regarding the tribes of Assam and the North-Eastern Frontier of India ; such investigators as Hodgson, McCosh, Wood-Mason, and A. Campbell published in the pages of the Society's Journal an amount of information regarding the tribes of Nepal, Sikkim and other Sub-Himalayan tracts ; writers like Hodgson, Balfour, Lieutenant Colonel Showers and others contributed articles in the Journal regarding the tribes of Central India ; and investigators like Hodgson, Ward, Ross and others published in the Journal the earliest accounts of the tribes of Southern India.

Another more popular journal—the Calcutta Review—which was started in Calcutta under European Editorship in the year 1843 also published from time to time some illuminating articles on Indian tribes and castes which supplemented our earlier knowledge of the ethnology of India ; but here, too, the majority of writers on ethnographical subjects were Europeans. Thus, out of fifty-three articles on Ethnology and Folklore published in the Calcutta Review from 1843

to 1883, as many as forty-three were from the pens of European contributors. As in these journals so also in the Indian Antiquary which was started at Bombay in 1872 by Dr. Burgess as a powerful rival to certain sections of the Asiatic Society's Journal, the number of European contributors of articles on Indian Ethnology and Folklore has been very much larger than that of Indian contributors. Thus, out of over two-hundred and sixty such articles and notes which appeared in the Indian Antiquary from 1872 to 1883, hardly more than a dozen articles were contributed by Indian writers.

Since 1883, although we have a slightly better account to give of ourselves, Indian writers on anthropological subjects still remain in a hopeless minority. Thus, out of about two-hundred and fifteen articles and short notes on Ethnography and Folklore that appeared in the Proceedings, Journals and Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal from 1884 to 1920, not more than sixty-five were contributed by Indians. Similarly, out of about seventy-six anthropological articles in the Calcutta Review from 1884 to 1920, only thirty were from the pens of Indian writers, and Indians are responsible for no more than one-hundred and thirty-two out of a total of about four hundred and seventy-seven articles on anthropological subjects that appeared in the Indian Antiquary from 1884 to 1920.

You will have noticed the comparative increase in the number of anthropological notes and articles in the Asiatic Society's Journal during this second period. This is partly due to the action of Government which from time to time felt the necessity, for

administrative purposes, of having better information about the customs and mentality of the people of India. Thus, in 1891-92, the Government of India circulated to the Provincial Governments and Administrations a scheme prepared by Risley for promoting the systematic study of ethnography in India, and it was suggested that societies formed for scientific enquiries might undertake to collate and publish information sent to them. It was in pursuance of this suggestion that the Asiatic Society of Bengal added to its Journal a third part dealing with Anthropology, Ethnology and Folklore. And the Government of Bengal, on the 7th November, 1892, sanctioned a grant of two thousand rupees to meet the cost of this third part of the Journal and, in the same year, the Assam Administration made a grant of rupees one thousand a year to the Society for ethnographic work. In the next nine years, from 1893 to 1901, fifty-nine anthropological papers were received by the Society for publication in its Journal. But the amount and quality of information thus published proved to be very poor. The number of really good papers such as the one on "The Religion and Customs of the Oraons" by the Rev. Father Dehon and another on "Mundari Poetry" by the Rev. Father Hoffmann, was disappointingly small. The Council of the Society in their anxiety to improve matters now resolved to add to the third part of their Journal an Ethnographic Supplement on the lines of the short-lived "Punjab Notes and Queries". Only two copies of this Supplement were, however, published in 1903, when the then Anthropological Secretary Mr. (afterwards Sir Edward) Gait having proceeded home on furlough it was unfortunately discontinued.

In these Ethnographic Supplements, too, out of the fairly large number of short notes contained in them, only a very few were contributed by Indians. Thus, of the forty-eight short notes or paragraphs in the first Supplement, only six were contributed by Indian gentlemen and the rest by Europeans, mostly Magistrates and Missionaries. Officers of Government had indeed an incentive for such work which non-officials did not possess. Again, on the 7th February, 1907 we find the then Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, Sir Andrew Fraser, in his annual Presidential Address to the Asiatic Society expressing his regret that so few officers of the Indian Civil Service and other services were members of the Society and contributors of papers regarding religious legends, family or caste observances and similar ethnographic information. In consequence of these remarks, a committee was appointed to consider "the question of directing and encouraging research, and promoting a knowledge of Indian life and conditions amongst Government officers in the province". And in order that the Society might act "as a centre of reference and bureau of information for all Government officers in Bengal who desire to pursue researches in connection with the history, religion, usages and folklore", it was proposed to appoint an officer who might "reply to any questions, suggest sources of information, course of study, method of treatment, etc." The Government which was requested to meet the expenses, sanctioned on the 2nd of December, 1908, an annual grant of three thousand six hundred rupees for payment of a monthly allowance of three hundred rupees to the officer to be placed in charge of the

Bureau, and Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Hara Prasad Shastri was selected for the purpose. The utility and importance of this Bureau consisted in the services it was calculated to render to Government officers requiring expert assistance and guidance in anthropological investigation. Very few officers would, however, appear to have availed themselves of the facilities for anthropological study thus provided. At any rate, the anthropological section of the Journal does not appear to have been since enriched by any appreciable increase in the number of contributions from Government officers. And non official Indians have been generally as indifferent to the claims of Anthropology as ever.

Other provinces in India have unfortunately much the same story to tell. Thus, in Punjab, Denzil Ibbetson, in the preface to his Report on the Punjab Census of 1881, drew attention to "the extraordinary interest of the material which lies in such abundance ready to the hand of all Indian officials, and which would, if collected and recorded, be of such immense value to students of sociology". And, in 1883, the "Punjab Notes and Queries", to which I have incidentally referred, was started under the editorship of Captain Temple with a similar object as the later Ethnographic Supplement to the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, but within five years, in 1887, became similarly defunct. In the North Western Provinces, a similar periodical started in 1891 under the editorship of the distinguished Anthropologist Dr. William Crooke, then a member of the Indian Civil Service, under the title of "North Indian Notes and Queries" with the same object of

collecting "authentic notes and scraps of information regarding the country and the people", shared the same fate in 1896. In Bombay, although an Anthropological Society has been in existence since 1886, and has published in its Journal some really good papers, the number of its members who, like Mr. Saldanha or Mr. Modi, take an enthusiastic part in the Society's work, appears to be disappointingly small, and solid contributions by the society to our stock of anthropological knowledge have thus been necessarily scanty.

The Mythic Society of Bangalore, started in 1909, and the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, started in 1915, have each tried to contribute its humble mite to Anthropological research in India, but these, like the other societies, suffer from want of adequate practical support and co-operation from Indian students and scholars. And we find Sir Edward Gait, the first President and founder of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, in his last annual Presidential Address on the 23rd December, 1920, lamenting,—"It is much to be regretted that notwithstanding the ample ethnological material available in all directions, our members as a body have not yet taken much practical interest in this branch of the Society's activities" (*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, [1920] vol. VI, p. 469).

It is refreshing to turn from this disheartening account of the comparative failure of scientific societies

**Handbooks on  
Castes & Tribes.** to organize bands of enthusiastic workers in Indian Ethnology, to another phase of anthropological work in India,—that of the compilation of systematic catalogues of the castes and tribes

of each Province, and collecting and consolidating all available information about them whether occurring in published books, Reports and magazine-articles or in unpublished official records. The comparative success that has attended this branch of anthropological work in India appears to be due to the fact that it has been carried out at the instance and expense of Government and mostly by its own officers, and there was therefore no dearth either of funds or of workers. Such defects and inaccuracies as are found to exist in some of the Government publications on Castes and Tribes appear to be due to the fact that materials were sometimes taken, without verification, from reports called for from Police Darogas, School-Sub-Inspectors and other subordinate officers or private individuals who did not possess either the necessary equipment for the investigation of the questions referred to them for inquiry nor the desire or the incentive to make careful and intelligent inquiries and to appreciate the significance of all the questions put and the answers elicited. Every regular field worker in Anthropology will understand the risks of error that such a course necessarily involves.

The British Government was from the beginning alive to the administrative value of a knowledge in its officers of the economic condition, social organization, customs, habits and religion of the population placed under them. Thus, as early as the 7th January 1807, we find the Court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company writing to the Government of the Presidency of Bengal,—“We are of opinion that a statistical survey of the country under the immediate authority of your Presidency,

would be attended with much utility ; we therefore recommend proper steps to be taken for carrying the same into execution". The Court further directed that Dr. Francis Buchanan, who had been employed by the Marquis of Wellesley in the survey of Mysore, should be appointed for the Survey. Accordingly, Dr. Buchanan (afterwards Buchanan Hamilton) was appointed by the Governor-General in Council with a monthly allowance of *sicca* rupees fifteen hundred exclusive of his usual pay and *batta*, and supplied with a staff of "efficient learned assistants, draftsmen, &c," to carry through the work. In the directions given by the Supreme Government on the 11th September, 1807, for the guidance of the Survey the subjects to which the inquiries were required to be particularly directed and which were required to be examined with as much accuracy as local circumstances would admit, were—

"II. *The condition of the Inhabitants* ; their number, the state of their food, clothing, and habitations ; the peculiar diseases to which they are liable ; together with the means that have been taken or may be proposed to remove them ; the education of youth ; and provision or resources for the indigent.

"III. *Religion* ; the number, progress, and most remarkable customs of each different sect or tribe of which the population consists ; together with the emoluments and power which their priests and chiefs enjoy ; and what circumstances exist or may probably arise that might attach them to Government, or render them disaffected."

In seven years, Dr. Buchanan could only complete the survey of the then districts of Bihar, Patna,

Shahabad, Bhagalpur, Dinajpur, Gorakpur, Purnia, Rangpur and Assam. The materials thus collected in twenty-five folio volumes were forwarded to the home authorities in 1816. The volumes which have since remained in the India Office (formerly the East India House), are reported to contain among other things a mass of information regarding the manners, customs, religion, &c., of the inhabitants. But, unfortunately, much of the ethnographic material contained in these volumes have hitherto remained a sealed book, although three volumes of selections from these valuable Reports and Journals were published, in 1838, by Montgomery Martin under the title of "The History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of *Eastern India* comprising the districts of Behar, Shahabad, Bhagulpoor, Goruckpoor, Dinajpoor, Puraniya, Rungpoor and Assam, in relation to their Geology, Mineralogy, Botany, Agriculture, Commerce, Manufactures, Fine Arts, Population, Religion, Education, Statistics, etc". It is understood that the publication of the ethnographic material contained in Buchanan-Hamilton's Journals is now under the consideration of the Secretary of State for India.

The next attempt of this kind appears to have been made in 1820, by Walter Hamilton in his ambitious work entitled "A Geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of Hindostan and Adjacent Countries", which was prepared, as the author informs us, by collating all printed documents accessible to the public and all the manuscript records and Government Reports deposited in the archives of the India Board. An attempt was made in the two volumes

of this work to describe, among other things, the castes and tribes inhabiting different parts of India. But how meagre was the information that Hamilton could glean from all these sources available to him, may be seen from only one illustration. Chota Nagpur, as every student of Indian Ethnology now knows, is the home of a number of aboriginal and semi-aboriginal tribes besides several Hindu castes. But all the information that Walter Hamilton could give us in 1820, was,—“The Khetauri, the Koeri, and the Dhanggar, are still the principal inhabitants of Chota Nagpur, where it is said that the latter, and probably also the former do not speak the Hindi language. The Dhanggar are still impure and probably unconverted Mlecchas” (P. 288). Apparently the name Dhanggar refers to the Oraons. Eight years later, when the same author brought out in London the second edition of his other work “The East India Gazetteer”, the only additional information that he could give about the Chota Nagpur tribes is the existence of many strange tribes of whom the author can name only two, namely the Coles of Tamar (by which term apparently the Mundas are meant) and the Lurka Coles of Singbhum (meaning the Hos). But of the customs and manners of these strange tribes next to nothing was yet known. The entire ethnological information about Chota Nagpur given in this second edition of the “East India Gazetteer” is contained in the following paragraph :—“The impervious fastnesses here conceal many strange tribes, who even at this late era of Hindu predominance, have not yet become converts to the Brahminical doctrines, and are consequently classed by the priests

among the abominable. The Khetauri, The Koeri, and the Dhanggar still compose the bulk of the inhabitants and some of these are said to speak the Hindi Language. The Dhanggar are still impure unconverted Mlechhas or barbarians. This territory contains a large proportion of Cole and Lurka Cole tribes, more especially in the pergannah of Tamar and the tracts situated near the hills that separate it from Singbhook, where there were disturbances in 1822. The Tamar female Coles possess some wearing apparel, but those of the Lurka Coles go entirely naked except a small piece of cloth. They appear to be Hindoos, but of the most degraded castes".

Thornton's "Gazetteer of the Territories under the East India Company" which appeared in four volumes in 1854, did not make any material addition to the then meagre knowledge of the people of India, although in the Preface to this book which was compiled under the authority of the Hon'ble Court of Directors of the East India Company, chiefly from documents in their possession, we are told,—“the present work is the first that ever aspired to the character of completeness as a Gazetteer of the territories under the Government of the East India Company and of the native States on the continent of India”.

A more satisfactory attempt at preparing a general account of the people of India, based on all existing materials as well as personal observation and inquiry in several parts of India, was that by Mr. Justice Campbell of Calcutta. His essay of 152 pages on the "Ethnology of India" was published in 1866 as a

supplementary number of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The paper was designed, as the author stated, "to assist both Government officials and private persons in making classified and descriptive lists in such a uniform manner and with such a uniform nomenclature and arrangement, that it may be afterwards possible to weld together the whole of the information thus obtained". The author hoped that such an 'ethnological skeleton' might serve as a guide and model into which the various details collected by future investigators might be fitted. Mr. Justice Campbell frankly characterizes his paper as "an avowedly imperfect sketch, designed to elicit the information which may afterwards render possible something more complete". This modest attitude is in agreeable contrast to the tone of the contemporary eminent English ethnologist, Dr. R. G. Latham, then Vice-President of the Ethnological Society of London, who, in 1859, published his "Ethnology of India" in 375 pages. This was an extract from his two-volume work, "Descriptive Ethnology", in which he claims to have attempted "a full and systematic description of the several varieties of mankind". Unlike Campbell, Latham, who apparently had not the advantage of a personal knowledge of India and her peoples, was misled into asserting as early as 1859,— "Of no country is the ethnological literature more valuable, full and reliable than that of British India". And "the Nilgherry Hills", he tells us, "are the parts which have been best investigated". All the information, however, which Dr. Latham could give us of the tribes of these hills is contained in the following few lines: "They (the Nilgherry Hills) give us:—

*The Tudas*—Infanticide polyandrists, who are few in number, and less Hindu than their neighbours :

*The Curumbars, Curumars, or Curbs,*

*The Irular*—(compare the name Warali), and

*The Budugars*,—all fragmentary, pagan, and semi-pagan populations. In the Tuda creed the black stone has a prominent place. The fuller form of the word is Tudava, apparently word for word “Tulava” (pp. 358–359).

With greater discrimination born of some personal knowledge, Mr. Justice Campbell says of the Todas,—“They are not properly Hindus, but no one who has seen them would for a moment suppose that they belong to the Negrito races. They are evidently Caucasians of a high type. In truth they are but a very small tribe; the common tradition and consent of the country makes it clear that they came as conquering immigrants to their present position at a comparatively recent period and their pastoral habit renders their migration more easy. Their language so small a body may well have almost lost during their wanderings among Dravidians.” (pp. 24-25). It is interesting to note that in the latest authoritative work on the *Todas*, Dr Rivers suggests that the Todas may have been derived from ancient immigrants from the south, either Aryan Nambuthiri Brahmans or the strongly Aryanised Nairs who are so largely of Nambuthiri blood (p. 709). Of the other Nilgiri tribes Campbell writes, (pp. 30-31) “There seems to be some doubt whether the Badagars and Kotas of the Lower Neilgherry

hills are properly Aborigines, they being, it appears, immigrants in those parts, and Carambars the true aborigines. I have not been able to meet with any very connected or detailed account of the thoroughly Aboriginal tribes of the hills and forests of the Nilgherries, Pulneys, and Western Ghats. The word *Maleasur* seems to mean simply a hill man, and the more proper tribal designations appear to be Carambers, Irulars, Puliars, and Veders. These seem to be tribes in the very lowest stage of savageness, with in fact scarcely any agriculture, mere men of the woods. They are represented as of very diminutive stature, with thickly matted locks and supple limbs, living under trees or caverns, keeping sheep or collecting forest produce, very stupid but also very mild and inoffensive, except that they have a great reputation as sorcerers, and themselves believing in a religion of demons and witchcraft, are by their neighbours believed to be highly gifted that way, although they seem to be very inferior to the simple but sturdy and industrious Coolees of the North". (pp. 30-31). To us, with our present better knowledge of the southern hill tribes, it would appear that here the writer confuses the characteristics of different tribes,—of the black Irulas and the better-looking and more well-to-do Badagas who are both agriculturists of the Nilgiri hills, the full-bearded, well-proportioned, aquiline-nosed, light-coloured Todas who are the pastoral tribe of those hills, the carrion-eating Kotas who form the artisan class, and the wild miserable-looking Kurumbas with their matted hair who are the sorcerers and wizards of the Nilgiri hills, the Pulayans who are the agrestic serfs of

Malabar and the short primitive Vadars or Mala (hill) Vedans of Travancore who file their teeth and kindle fire by friction and who are supposed by some to be identical in race with the Veddas of Ceylon.

Mr Justice Campbell had indeed very good reasons for his diffidence. The European's knowledge of the different sections of the Indian population was so meagre in his day that even about the well-known Vaidya caste of Bengal all the information that this British Judge of the highest court of justice in Bengal could impart to his readers in 1866, is contained in five lines as follows:—“I shall here mention a caste who are, so far as I know, peculiar to Bengal, the Boidyas or Physicians. They are not very numerous, are, I believe, often learned and respectable, and rank high among the Hindus, but in truth I do not know very much about them. It would be interesting to know more”. (p. 119).

Moreover, Campbell does not, like Latham, consider language as the best basis of race-classification,—and he does not, like Latham, identify the “Uraon” with the “Uriya”, and the Rajmahal Paharia god “Bedo” as well as the Bodo god “Batho” with “Buddha” (p. 317).

In the opening lines of his paper, Campbell informs us that “the great subject of Indian Ethnology has been taken up by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in a serious and earnest manner, with a view to that actual observation and practical inquiry which is only possible in the countries and on the spots where the various races are found, or where specimens of them may be collected together”; and that “the Govern-

ment has already consented to take the first step in aid of the movement by collecting from its officers, in all parts of India, lists of the races and classes existing in the various districts." In compliance with a requisition from Government to all the Commissioners of Divisions to furnish lists of the various tribes and castes found within their respective jurisdictions, some descriptive lists were prepared and submitted to Government. And, in 1869, the Government of Bengal selected Colonel Dalton to edit the ethnological information thus obtained. Dalton, however, offered to prepare a descriptive account of the tribes of Bengal and Assam, not only from the materials thus obtained but also by collating all available sources of information such as official reports, journals of learned societies, and other publications. The Asiatic Society of Bengal tendered their services to Government to superintend the printing of the work, and the Government which undertook the publication of the work thankfully accepted the offer. And in the splendid quarto volume of Dalton's "Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal" published in 1872, we have the first authentic descriptive account of the hill-tribes of Bengal, Bihar, Chota Nagpur, Orissa and Assam.

Although, as a result of subsequent investigation, we are now in possession of a quantity of additional information about some of the Assam and Chota Nagpur tribes, and, in the light of such knowledge, we can point our finger at occasional inaccuracies and shortcomings in his descriptions, Dalton's will always remain the most valuable pioneer account of those hill-tribes.

The decade that followed the publication of Dalton's "Descriptive Ethnology" was a period of increasing Government activity in the collection of statistical and other data relating to the various provinces of India. The Census Reports, Statistical Accounts, District Manuals and Gazeteers, Settlement Reports, Reports of the Linguistic Survey of India, and even the Archaeological Survey Reports published under Government authority during this period supplied a mass of incidental information relating to the castes and tribes of India. But the information thus incidentally collected could be neither accurate nor exhaustive. And in September, 1882, the Government of India at the instance of the Census Committee issued a circular to all Provincial Governments and Administrations, suggesting that "steps should be taken on the basis of the statistics recorded in the Census of 1881 towards collecting more precise information than at present exists regarding the castes and descriptions of the people of India." Accordingly, in February 1885, Mr. (afterward Sir Herbert) Risley was selected by the Bengal Government to collect detailed information of the castes, tribes and sociology of the Province. And later, Dr. William Crooke was selected by the Government of the North-Western Provinces (now the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh) for similar work in that Province. In May, 1901, the Government of India formally sanctioned the scheme for a systematic and detailed ethnographic survey of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the North-Western Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the Punjab, Central Provinces, Assam and

Burma, and a Superintendent of Ethnography was appointed for each Province to carry out the work of the Survey, of which Risley was appointed Honorary Director. Thurston was appointed Superintendent of Survey for the Madras Presidency, Russel for the Central Provinces, Enthoven for the Bombay Presidency, Rose for the Punjab, and, later, Denys Bray for Beluchistan. The enquiries were to be conducted on the lines of certain questions drawn up by Nesfield, Ibbetson and Risley at a conference held in 1885. To this Survey we owe the four volumes of the Tribes and Castes of Bengal by Risley, first published in 1891, the four volumes of the Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces of Agra and Oudh by Dr. Crooke, published in 1896, the six volumes of Castes and Tribes of Southern India published by Thurston with the assistance of Mr. K. Rangachari, published in 1909, Rose's "Glossary for the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-Western Frontier Provinces" published in 1911, Captain C. E. Luard's "Ethnographical Survey of the Central India Agency" (1909), and the four excellent volumes on the Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces compiled by Russel with the assistance of Rai Bahadur Hira Lall and published in 1915. The Bombay Superintendent issued, since 1903, certain draft articles styled "Monographs", but a consolidated hand-book of the Castes and Tribes of that Presidency does not appear to have been yet published. Similar ethnographic surveys were also undertaken by a few of the Native States, such as Mysore, Chochin and Travancore; and, as a result,

we have such accounts as Mr. H. V. Nanjundayaya's bulletins of the Mysore Castes and Tribes, and the two sumptuous volumes on the Cochin Tribes and Castes by Mr. L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer.

In the compilation of these volumes on the Castes and Tribes of the different provinces, free use was made of the mass of information which lay buried not only in official reports and in the Journals of learned Societies, but in various other interesting books published up till then. Among the authors of such books, too, Indian names are conspicuous by their absence. Whereas we owe to European writers the majority of such books beginning with Captain Hamilton's "A new Account of the East Indies" (1st edition 1727 ; 2nd edition 1739 ; 3rd edition 1744), and including such books as Ward's "Account of the Writings, Religion and Manners of the Hindoos" (1811); Colonel Kirkpatrick's "Account of the Kingdom of Nepal" (1811) ; Forbes' "Oriental Memoirs" (1813) ; the Abbe Dubois' "Hindu Manners and Customs" <sup>1</sup>(1st English translation, 1816) ; Buchanan's "Account of the Kingdom of Nepal" (1819) ; Malcolm's

<sup>1</sup>In 1807, Lord William Bentinck who was then at Madras purchased on behalf of the East India Company for a sum of 2,000 star pagodas (about Rs. 8,000) the original French manuscript of the Abbe Dubois' "Description of the Character, Manners, and Customs of the People of India, and of their Institutions, Religious and Civil" (1792), and the Madras Government reported the purchase to the Board of Directors as "an arrangement of great public importance". The Ms. itself was transmitted to London in the same year for translation and publication. The first English translation was published in 1816 under the supervision of Major Wilks. The Abbe subsequently revised the Ms. by inserting many "additions and corrections suggested by many years of additional study and investigation". The revised Ms. which the Madras Government forwarded to the Court of Directors lay unheeded till 1897 when Henry Beauchamp published a new translation from the later French manuscript.

“Memoirs of Central India” 1823); Harkness’ “Description of an Aboriginal Race (Irulas) inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills” (1832); Robinson’s “Descriptive Account of Assam” (1841); Sleeman’s “Notes on Naga Tribes in Communication with Assam” (1844); Sleeman’s “Thughs” (1839), “Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official” (1844), and ‘Journey through the Kingdom of Oudh” (1853); Stirling’s “Orissa” (1846); Major Butler’s ‘Travels and Adventures in the Province of Assam” (1855); Colonel MacCulloch’s “Account of the Valley of Munnipore and of the Hill Tribes” (1859); Elliot’s “Supplement to the Glossary of Indian Terms” (1860); Bishop Heber’s “Narrative of a Journey through Upper India” (1861); Ward’s “View of the History, Literature and Religion of the Hindus” (1863); Major General Campbell’s “Personal Narrative of thirteen years’ service among the Wild Tribes of Khondistan” (1865); Rev. S Hislop’s “Papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces” (1866); Watson’s “Textile Manufacturers and Costumes of the People of India” (1866); Fergusson’s “Tree and Serpent Worship” (1868); Hunter’s “Annals of Rural Bengal” (1868); Rev. Sherring’s “Sacred City of the Hindus” (1868); Watson and Kaye’s “People of India” (1868); Miss Frere’s “Old Deccan Days” (1868); Dr. Shortt’s “Account of the Tribes of the Nilgherries” (1868); Carnegie’s “Notes on the Races, Tribes and Castes inhabiting the Province of Oudh” (1868); Sir H. M. Elliot’s “Memoirs on the History, Folklore, and Distribution of the Races of the North-Western Provinces of India” (1869); Lewin’s “Hill

Tribes of Chittagong" (1869), and "Wild Tribes of South East India" (1870); Rev. Sherrings "Hindu Castes and Tribes" (1872-81); Breeke's "Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris" (1873); Marshall's "Travels among the Todas" (1873), and "A Phrenologist Among the Todas" (1873); Growse's "Mathura" (1880); V. Ball's "Jungle Life in India" (1880); Oldfield's "Sketches from Nepal" (1880); Lyall's "Asiatic Studies" (1882); Gunthorpe's "Notes on the Criminal Tribes of Bombay, Berar, and the Central Provinces" (1882); Dr. Wise's "Notes on the Races, Castes, and Trades of Eastern Bengal" (1883); Forsyth's "Highlands of Central India" (first Edition 1871, 2nd Edition 1886, 3rd Edition 1919); Richter's "Ethnographical Compendium on the Castes and Tribes found in the Province of Coorg" (1887); Soppitt's "Account of the Kachcha Nagas" (1885); Grierson's "Bihar Peasant Life" (1885); H. Rice's "Native Life in South India" (1889) and "Occasional Essays on Native South Indian Life" (1901); Captain H. R. Browne's "The Lushais from 1875 to 1889" (1889); Rev. A. Campbell's "Santal Folk Tales" (1891); Crooke's "Introduction to the Religion and Folklore of Northern India" (1894); Rev. J. E. Padfield's "The Hindu at Home" (1896), and "North-Western Provinces in India" (1899); Major General Sir James Jhonstone's "My Experiences in Manipur and the Naga Hills" (1896); Major Waddell's "Among the Himalayas" (1899); Eompas' "Folk-lore of the Santal Parganas" (1909); Mrs. Rafy's "Folktales of the Khasis" (1920); G. W. Briggs' "Chamars" (1920)

and many others of a like nature besides Grammars and Vocabularies of various aboriginal dialects prepared mostly by Christian Missionaries such as Bishop Caldwell, Rev. Mr. Skresfurd, Rev. Dr. Campbell and Rev. Father Hoffmann, — similar books written by Indian authors such, for example, as Mrs. Hassan Alis "Observations on the Mussalmans of India" (1832); Rev. Lal Bihari Day's "Govinda Samanta" (1874), "Folk Tales of Bengal" (1879), and "Bengal Peasant Life" (1898); Bhattacharya's "Hindu Castes and Sects" (1896); Gupte's "Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials" (1st Edn. 1916, 2nd Edn. 1919); D. F. Karaka's "The Parsee" (1858); Mangal Das Nathubhoy's "Lectures on Hindu Castes, Ceremonies, Customs and Inheritance" (1896); Modi's "Marriage Customs among the Parsees" (1900); Gopal Panikkar's "Malabar and its Folk" (1st Edn. 1900, 2nd Edn. 1904); and Natesa Sastri's "Hindu Feasts and Ceremonies" (1903) and "Indian Folktales" (1908); and a few other books hardly make up a couple of dozens in number..

Through information contained in all such books, the fuller information contained in the numerous ethnographic articles in the Journals and magazines already mentioned, the ethnographic information contained in various Government Reports and Gazetteers, and, above all, the volumes on Castes and Tribes prepared by the Ethnographic Survey of India, we have now come to possess a general outline view of the numerous castes and tribes inhabiting the country and the different physical and cultural types that make up the present Indian population.

Even the different tribes and castes of those parts of India that were, not many years ago, ethnologically almost *terra incognita* to us, are now, in their broad outlines, pretty familiar to students of Anthropology through the labours of the Ethnographical Survey. Thus, to take one instance, most of the wild tribes that inhabit the secluded hills and jungles of the Cochin State are to us no longer the vague entities that they were to an earlier generation of ethnologists. All the information that Latham (*Ethnology of India* p. 359) could give us of these tribes in 1859 was that they were known as the "Malearasur" and were "analogous to the Tudas, etc., in the hills of the Malayalam country". Eight years later, Mr. Justice Campbell (*Ethnology of India* pp. 30-31), could only say, "Allusions seem to be made to the existence of Aboriginal or quasi-Aboriginal tribes at different points in the Western Ghats and Coasts; the names of 'Chermars' and 'Neade' are mentioned in Travancore and Cochin, but they are no doubt the same as Chermers and Nagadees, the slaves of Malabar. The Dhers and Ramooses of the centre and west of the Peninsula seem to be mixed up with the general population. On all these points more precise information is much required. It is not till we cross the Godavery to the north, that we come to the country really held by the Aborigines" (p. 31). But, thanks to the Ethnographic Survey of the Cochin State, ethnologists are to-day almost as familiar with the aboriginal tribes of the Cochin hills and jungles as they are with the tribes living north of the Godavari,—namely, the various tribes of

the northern hills from the Aka, the Daffla, the Miri, the Abor, the Mishmi, the Singhpo, the Khamti, the Naga, the Mikir, the Kuki, the Lushai, the Garo, the Khasi, the Kachari, and the Meithie of Assam, to the Bhotiya, the Lepcha, the Champa, the Ladakhi, the Balti, the Dard, the Pahari, the Dogra, the Tharu, the Bogsha, the Naga and the Khasa or Khasia, of the central and Western Himalayan and Sub-Himalayan regions ; and the Baloch, the Brahui, the Kafir, the Waziri, the Afridi, the Swattee, the Mommand, and other Trans-Indus tribes further to the North-west ; and then the numerous tribes of the highlands and hills to the south of the Gangetic plains, from the Juang, the Savara, the Banjara, the Bendkar and the Bhuiya of the Orissa hills on the east, the Oraon, the Munda, the Ho, the Bhumij, the Birhor, the Korwa, the Kharia, the Pahira, the Asur, and the Birjia, besides other minor tribes of the Chota Nagpur plateaux ; the Santal, the Mal Paharia and the Sauria Paharia of the Santal Parganas ; the Gond, the Khond, the Parja, the Gadava, the Korku, the Kisan, the Kawar, and the lesser tribes of the Central Provinces, to the Bhil, and the Koli extending as far west as Guzerat, the home of the stalwart and turbulent Gujars.

We are now almost equally familiar with the broad physical and cultural characteristics of most of the Cochin tribes such as the effeminate-looking though robust Kadars who chip their incisor teeth and, with their bill-hooks and digging spuds go about in search of food in the jungles around their *puthies* or villages ; the ‘somewhat migratory’ Malayans, who wander

from place to place "followed by their dogs and women loaded with their younger children" and scanty belongings; the untouchable Parayans credited with sorcery (*oti*) and divination, who ply their humble occupation of the manufacture of wicker-work, baskets and bamboo-mats in their lowly huts on the hill-sides and who can neither approach the houses of the high caste Hindus nor draw water from the wells used by them nor even walk through the public roads; the toddy-drinking Pulayans or Cherumans, a class of predial slaves who must stand ninety feet away from the Nambuthiris and sixty-four feet from the Nayars, and whose Hindu lords (*thampurans*) generally assign them for their habitations (*madams*) the banks of the low rice-fields so that they may be well out of the way of high-caste people and watch their masters' crops at night; the Vettuvans, the Kanakkans and the Koodans who constitute the lesser tribes of agrestic serfs; the untouchable Nayadis, averse to manual labour and living on the proceeds of the sale of bees' wax, honey and resin which they collect in the jungles; the short and dark Eравallens or Villu Vedans (lit., hunters using bows and arrows) who either work on wages on the farms of Hindu neighbours or cultivate dry uplands for scanty crops of *chama* (*Panicum miliaceum*), *cholam* (*Sorghum vulgare*) and gingili seeds, but who still delight in hunting and are experts with their bows and arrows; the Ulladans, lowest class of slaves attached to the soil, who "cannot walk along the public roads, or come to the bazars, nor approach the precincts of any town or locality where the higher castes

reside"; the Pullavan who, with his earthenware *pullavakudam* (friction drum) in hand, goes with his wife or other female to the houses of members of other castes to beg for alms supposed to save the donor and his family from harm through snakes; the Vilkurups, the vestiges of whose old occupation as trainers of youth in athletic feats and arms and manufacturers of bows and arrows now survive only in their employment as shampooers in cases of nervous debility or dislocation of a limb and as suppliers of bows and arrows to Nayar families on occasions of the *Onam* festival or a tali-tying ceremony; the Katalaryans or Katak Koties and the Valans who are among the fishing-castes of Cochin; the Mukkuvans and the Marakkans who are immigrant sea-fishermen from the Malabar coast; the Hinduized Izhuvans or Illavans, probably immigrants from Ceylon, and their cousins the Tiyyans (both probably allied to the Shanars of the Tinnevelly district and the Billavas of South Canara), who cultivate the cocoanut and palmyra palms, draw toddy and distil arrack, and are much given to devil charming and devil-driving; the Kammalans or Panchalans who with their six sub-castes of Marasaris or carpenters, Kallasaris or stone-masons, Kollans or blacksmiths, Moosaries or bell-metal workers, Thattans or goldsmiths, and Tolkollans or leather-workers, form the artisan classes of the state and, though now styling themselves "Viswa Brahmins", are regarded as one of the polluting castes by the Nayars and the Nambuthiris; the Thandans with their custom of paternal polyandry; the Nayars,

the high-caste Sudras of Cochin, living in *tarawads* or matriarchal family groups, who once formed the chief militia of the Cochin state as well as of British Malabar and Travancore, and "were, in most cases neither regularly married nor did care much, when married, to support their wives and children", and among whom a sort of polyandry was up till recent times in vogue; the Ambalabasi caste of temple servants of mixed origin,—some *pratilomajas*<sup>1</sup> and others *anulomajas*<sup>2</sup>,—broadly classed in two divisions those who wear the *punul* or sacred thread and those who do not,—comprising the *punul*-wearing *Muttatus*<sup>3</sup> who follow the *makkattayam* or patrilineal system of inheritance, and the Adikals, the Nambidis, and the non-*punul*-wearing Chakkiyar Nambiyars, and the Pisharotis who follow the *marumakkaatayam* or rule of inheritance in the female line, and the non-*punul*-wearing Variyars and the *punul*-wearing Pushpaka Nambiyars, who follow both the matrilineal and the patrilineal systems of inheritance; the Kadupattans, reputed descendants of degraded Pattar Brahmans, among whom a man may marry the daughter of his maternal uncle or paternal aunt; the Tarakkans of Tamil origin now developed into a sub-caste of the Nayars; the lower Sudra castes of Velakkathalavan barbers, Veluthedan washermen and Chaliyan weavers; the Ambattan barber; the Telugu Kumbarans or Kummaravadu potters; the Kumbas,

<sup>1</sup>Issue of a female of a higher caste with a male of a lower one.

<sup>2</sup>Issue of a male of a higher caste with a female of a lower one.

<sup>3</sup>Only the eldest son of a *Muttatu* enters into a regular marriage while the junior members of the family enter into *Sambandham* with Nayar women.

a more decent caste of potters than their neighbours the so-called Sivite but really animistic Ottans ; the endogamous Devanga weavers ; the exogamous Chakkans or Tamil oil-pressers ; the exogamous Chettis and the Kaikolan weavers, both of which castes permit the marriage of a man with the daughter of his mother's brother or father's sister ; the mat-making Kakkalans ; the untouchable Kavaras whose women are experts in wicker-work ; the immigrant Telugu Oddens or Voddens, who are expert tank-diggers and earth-workers ; the beggar caste of Pandarans, who rank higher than the other beggar castes of Cochin such as the Andie ; the Tamil caste of Vazhambans said to have once been experts in magic and sorcery ; the Samanthans, the aristocracy of Malabar, whose women form *sambandham* alliance with Nambuthiri Brahmans and with the so-called Kshatriyas, while the males generally form *sambandham* alliance with Nayar women, and among whom the bridegroom or *tali-tier* is seldom the husband of the girl ; the *Malayalam* Kshatriyas, supposed to be a hybrid people, whose religion—a sort of 'Hinduism largely mixed with animism'—consists of various rites of magic and exorcism and the worship of a few Hindu deities as well as of 'sacred animals, plants, streams, and the sea' ; the Embrans, who are the descendants of Brahman immigrants from outside and are either employed as cooks in private houses or as assistants to the Nambuthiri priests of the temples ; the Tamil Brahmans, from amongst whom many of the old Brahmanic ideals are gradually disappearing and who are fast adapting themselves

to their modern environment, and 'are engaged in all occupations which afford a decent income'; the sacerdotal Nambuthiri Brahmans, the highest caste in the State, who follow the law of primogeniture and among whom the younger sons of a family often go without regular marriage but enter into *Sambandham* with the young women of other castes below their own (preferably Nayar), and whose women hide their faces with umbrellas while going out of their houses; the White Jews, who still maintain their purity of blood and among whom we meet with several customs and practices recorded in the Old Testament but fallen into partial disuse among their western fellow-Israelites; the Brown Jews, who are considered by competent authorities to be a mixture of White Jews and of converts from low-caste natives, but who regard themselves as pure descendants of the ancient Jews and as earlier settlers in India than the White Jews; the Black Jews, who are the descendants of old converts or slaves; the *Nazarene Mapillas* or Syrian Christians, each division of whom 'has become like a Hindu caste, an endogamous sect with no intermarriage between members of one sect and another, though no objection is made to inter-dining', and among whom the bridegroom before leaving his house in marriage-procession, gives, in right Hindu-fashion, *dakshina* (in cloth and money) to his *guru* or preceptor after due obeisance; and last, but not least, the *Jonakan Mapillas*, mostly either descendants of the offspring of Arab traders and low caste women of Malabar, or converts, whose religion, though Mahomedanism in name, betrays many traces of primitive animism,

and among whom, in Cochin, though inheritance is patrilineal, 'the wife seldom lives with her husband in his own home, but, on the contrary, the husband visits her in her father's home'.

These volumes on the Castes and Tribes of the different Provinces are, however, mere general and superficial surveys that fail to furnish that detailed exposition of kinship organization and social system, primitive ideas, usages and customs, religious beliefs and ritual, superstitions and folklore, which is needed for the purpose of scientific anthropology. As descriptive catalogues—or 'Ethnographic Glossaries', as their authors appropriately designate them,—they may well serve as useful bases for more intensive studies of the various interesting individual castes and tribes. But without such intensive studies of the different tribes and castes by careful students of Ethnology, we shall look in vain for adequate materials for science. An exhaustive collection of more complete and better sifted facts than we now possess, capable of being scientifically treated—of being properly classified and viewed in their mutual relations for purposes of the generalizations of Science,—is still a crying desideratum in Indian Ethnography.

In one Indian Province alone, the value of such intensive studies appears to have Ethnographical been recognized. In 1903, Sir Monographs. Bampfylde Fuller, then Chief Commissioner of Assam, proposed and received the sanction of the Government of India for the preparation of a series of monographs on the more important tribes and castes of that Province. Sir Bampfylde laid down a scheme in accordance with

which each monograph was to deal with the habitat, economic and domestic life, tribal and social organization, laws and institutions, religion and folklore, language, racial affinities, and traditions as to the origin of the people concerned. Major Gurdon who was appointed Superintendent of Ethnography and, later, Honorary Director of Ethnography for Assam, edited the series of excellent monographs beginning with his own book on the 'Khasis' (first published in 1906) which has now passed through a second and enlarged edition (1914) and followed by similar books on the 'Meithies' (1908) by T. C. Hodson, the 'Mikirs' (1908) by Edward Stack, the 'Garos' (1909) by Major Playfair, the 'Kacharis' (1911) by Rev. S. Endle, the 'Lushai Kuki Clans' (1911) by Lt. Col. J. Shakespeare, and the 'Naga Tribes' of Manipur (1911) by T. C. Hodson. Other books of the series are reported to be under preparation. So far as this intensive form of ethnographic study is concerned, it has unfortunately as yet attracted but few Indian workers. Indeed, with the exception perhaps of monographs on a couple of Chota Nagpur tribes there is hardly any other work of the kind from the pen of an Indian.

Again, there is another important branch of anthropological investigation which has been left severely alone not only by Indian students but even by most European investigators of man in India. I refer to what is known as Prehistoric Archaeology but what may not inappropriately be as well named Prehistoric Anthropology,—for, this is our only source of direct knowledge of Prehistoric man and his culture. Practically all the slender knowledge that we now possess of Indian Pre-history is mainly derived from the

scanty accidental finds of a few Europeans, mostly members of the Geological Survey of India. How meagre is our knowledge of pre-historic man in India may be judged from the fact that though a number of ancient stone implements and other pre-historic artefacts have been picked up in various parts of India--in Chota Nagpur, the Central Provinces, the Central India Agency and Rajputana, Guzerat, the United Provinces, in the valleys of the Godavari and the Narmada, and in various districts of the Madras Presidency,—no undoubted fossil human remains have yet been discovered in association with Indian palaeoliths, and only in two authentic instances in India have palaeoliths been discovered in direct association with the fossil bones of extinct animals—namely, in the cases of Wynne's Mungi flake and Haeckett's Bhuttra boucher, discovered one in the ossiferous gravels of the Godavari valley in 1861 and the other in similar gravels of the Narmada valley in 1873. There are, however, good reasons to expect that systematic search for and regular stratigraphical study of the skeletal and industrial remains of pre-historic man in India may yield most important results towards the elucidation of the Pre-history of man, from the Late and Early Iron Ages through the Copper Age and New Stone Age back to the Palaeolithic and perhaps pre-Palaeolithic times. For the present, A. C. Logan's "Old Chipped Stones of India" (1906), Bruce-Foote's "Indian Pre-historic and Proto-historic Antiquities" (1914-16), Coggin-Brown's "Catalogue of Pre-historic Antiquities in the Indian Museum" (1917) besides a few articles in the Records of the Geological Survey of India, and in the journals

of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, and in one or two other journals constitute about all the meagre Indian literature on the subject.

As for the artistic remains of Pre-historic man in India, a few rude paintings generally of animals or hunting scenes or symbolic drawings on the walls of certain cave-shelters in the Mirzapur district in the United Provinces, at Singanpur in the Raigarh State of the Central Provinces and at Edakkal in the Bellary District (Madras) are about the only specimens hitherto known. And even of these their antiquity has not yet been sufficiently investigated.\* And the same is the case with Indian megalithic monuments,—the menhirs and dolmens of the Khasi Hills, Chota Nagpur Plateaux and elsewhere, and the cromlechs and kistavens scattered over the hills and plateaux of Southern India. Thus, then, we necessarily lack adequate materials for investigation into the origin, variety and characteristics of the prehistoric races of India, their early migrations and their relation to the existing races, and our present knowledge on these points is as yet next to nothing. Finally, the essentially scientific work of tracing the racial and cultural affinities of the different existing castes and tribes of India and reconstructing their ethnic and cultural history can hardly be said to have yet begun. In fact, much fuller accounts of the

\* In the Karnool caves, although fossil remains of an extinct primate (*Semnopithecus*) have been discovered in what appears to be a Pleistocene horizon, no skeletal, industrial or artistic remains of man have yet been found. At the foot of the Singanpur hill, however, some stone implements, late palaeolithic in form, have been found by the Curator of the Patna Museum (Mr. M. Ghosh); and I myself picked up a few such implements besides a portion of a neolith.

history and traditions and physical and cultural, including psychological, characteristics than we now possess of each individual caste and tribe are required to enable the ethnologist to trace the ramifications and distribution of particular cultural features and industrial and artistic products, to unravel the tangled skein of the diverse race-elements and culture-elements associated together in any particular ethnic or cultural group, and thereby to trace the group's racial affinities and reconstruct its cultural history. It goes without saying that before we can properly systematize our facts and attempt to explain their scientific relation, we must possess as exhaustive a collection of such facts as possible.

Thus, with our present superficial knowledge of the ethnography of the different tribes and castes of India, neither the theory of the racial affinities of the different groups of the people of India put forward by Risley in his "People of India" (1st edition, 1908 ; 2nd edition, 1915) nor the later and perhaps more plausible view of Mr. Rama Prasad Chanda set forth in his "Indo-Aryan Race" (1916) can be confidently accepted as the last word on the subject. Again, such knotty questions as the Brahui-Dravidian problem, the Mon-Khmer-Ho-Munda-Khasi problem, the problem of the Copper-Age and the Stone-Age men of India are yet as far from any approach towards definite solution as ever. And here, as in other matters, it is mainly to European scholars such as Kuhn, Schmidt, Grierson (*Linguistic Survey of India*), Risley, (*People of India*), Holdich, (*Gates of India*), Logan (*Old Chipped Stones of India*), and others that we owe such attempts at the solution of these problems as

have been hitherto made. So far as Indian Anthropometry is concerned, if we except the work of one or two European scholars, it is to the labours of the Ethnographic Survey of India that we practically owe all the work hitherto done in this direction. But the measurements taken by the Survey were neither as extensive nor as thorough as might be desired. The old method of averages which was followed fails to represent the differences of types in a group. In fact, the new science of Biometry which seeks to find out the mean of the anthropometric measurements of a group by co-ordination and seriation and to study the extent and frequency of deviations from the mean by plotting out binomial curves of the indices, had not yet been sufficiently developed to be applied to the investigations of Physical Anthropology.

It is Dr. N. Annandale who only recently first applied the biometric method to various measurements taken by him at Calcutta ; and Prof. P. Mahalanobis is, I understand, now working up his results.

Thus, then, almost the whole of the present anthropological literature relating to India is the result of the labours of European investigators—mostly hard-worked officers of Government and Christian Missionaries, and to them India shall ever owe a heavy debt of gratitude for this invaluable pioneer work. As for us Indians, notwithstanding our better advantages for such investigation, we have unfortunately stood by in apathetic indolence, while all the while much valuable material for study has been fast disappearing.

Throughout this paper I have laid particular stress on the neglect of anthropological research

by educated Indians. If, however, we, Indians, have hitherto taken only an insignificant part in anthropological research, the blame cannot be entirely laid at our door. At least a portion of the responsibility for such neglect may be fairly fastened on other parties.

There are, first, the different Universities of India. Until quite recently did they do anything to encourage the study of Anthropology? Far from encouraging such study, they did not even recognize it as a subject of University education. It is only within the last three or four years that a few Indian Universities have awakened to the importance of the science. The Patna University under the guidance of its first Chancellor, the accomplished Ethnologist Sir Edward Gait, led the way by introducing Ethnology as one of the subjects for its degree examinations. But whereas the Patna University has unfortunately stopped with the creation of a bare Readership and has not yet made any arrangements for imparting regular instruction in the subject, the premier University of Calcutta, under the guidance of the Hon'ble Justice Sir Ashutosh Mukerji, has since enthusiastically taken up the subject and made elaborate arrangements for instruction in its different branches by appointing four or five permanent Lecturers besides occasional Readers in Anthropology. The Bombay, Madras, and Mysore Universities are also making some arrangements for teaching Sociology and Ethnology. Till now, however, it is in Calcutta alone that the establishment of a School of Anthropology with an Ethnological Museum and a

good anthropological Library is an accomplished fact ; and it makes the heart of an anthropologist throb with delight to see an enthusiastic band of promising students eagerly availing themselves of the facilities for study provided in this School by the authorities of the Calcutta University. Only a couple of years ago, however, very few anthropological books and journals could be found on the shelves of our college libraries in India. And even to-day, as we have seen, it is only a very few Universities in this country that have seriously undertaken to make some sort of a provision for anthropological study and instruction. What a sad contrast this to the zealous efforts of European and American Universities for over a quarter of a century now for the promotion of Anthropological study and research ! Thus, to mention one or two instances : the Oxford University took up Anthropology as a serious study in 1884, and the Cambridge University in 1893. Unlike our Indian Universities, they did not consider their duty done by merely creating Readerships and Professorships in Anthropology and admitting it as a subject for Degree examinations. They have further been vigorously organizing or otherwise promoting anthropological research through their Professors and other experts and training their students in field work. Thus, it was under the auspices of the Cambridge University that the famous expedition to the Torres Straits was undertaken, and, as a result of the expedition, we possess the invaluable volumes on the anthropology of that region, up till then very imperfectly known to science. Whereas these foreign Universities have enthusiastically fitted out expeditions to

distant lands for anthropological study and research, our own Universities have hitherto remained lamentably indifferent even to the unbounded field for anthropological investigation lying at their very door. Again, whereas very few of our Universities have thought fit to approach the Imperial or Provincial Governments for aid in the promotion of Anthropological study, we find in 1909, a joint deputation from both the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge representing to the Secretary of State for India and to the Secretary of State for the Colonies the need for the training of Indian and Colonial Civil Service candidates and probationers, in ethnology and primitive religion.

This brings me to a consideration of the insignificant part hitherto taken by the Government of India and our Provincial Governments in promoting anthropological research. Important as has been the work of the general ethnographic surveys of the different provinces initiated by the Imperial Government and enthusiastically carried through by the Provincial Governments and administrations, these surveys undertaken for the needs of the practical administrator have not directly aided the promotion of independent scientific research. The action of various local Governments in making grants for anthropological research to learned societies such as the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Bihar and Orissa Research Society and the Anthropological Society of Bombay have indeed been of greater help in this direction. But without the co-operation of a body of educated persons taking a practical interest in such work, these societies cannot be expected to accom-



lish much. And even in this respect, our Governments in India have been far less liberal than, for example, the Government of the United States which makes an annual grant of £8000/- a year to the Smithsonian Institution for researches in North American Anthropology. The great desideratum in India is, indeed, to raise a band of enthusiastic and trained workers in the country ; but this can only be done by promoting the study of Anthropology in the different Universities through liberal Government aid in the foundation of Chairs, Readerships, and Lecturerships and a number of research scholarships in Anthropology, as also in the recognition of anthropological knowledge as a necessary equipment for the Judicial and Executive officers of Government.

It is too late in the day to ignore the great administrative value of a knowledge of Anthropology in all officers engaged in administrative work. The sympathy born of an intelligent appreciation of the customs, habits, and mentality of the tribes and castes that an officer or even a business man has to deal with, is ordinarily a sure guarantee for successful work. A few years ago, the Sudan Government marked its recognition of this truth by directing that every candidate for its services must go through a course of Anthropology at Oxford or Cambridge. And it is high time that in India a similar rule should be enforced in the case of candidates for the Indian Civil Service, and that our Provincial Governments, in the selection of members for their Provincial and Subordinate Civil Services, should give preference to candidates holding degrees in Anthropology in an Indian or foreign University.

This will not only improve the quality of administrative work, but will afford a strong incentive for the study and advancement of the Science. Executive and Judicial Officers thus trained in Anthropology will in the course of their daily work have ample opportunities for ethnographical observation and inquiry. And the recorded results of such observation and inquiry by officers, thus trained, may be expected to advance to some extent the cause of anthropological research.

If the Universities and the Government have not hitherto done all that they could and should have done to help forward Anthropological research in the country, the millionaires of our country—our landed aristocracy, merchant-princes, and professional magnates—have been still more apathetic to the claims of this 'Queen of Sciences'. In Europe and America, anthropological research owes much to the liberal patronage of the wealthy. Thus, to take only one or two instances, the Selenka-Trinil expedition to Java to search for the remains of *Pithecanthropus Erectus* and the Trinil race was fitted out in 1907 by Frau Lenore Selenka at an enormous expense. And with the aid of the Percy Sladen Trust Fund, another anthropological expedition was organized under Dr. Rivers for the study of the ethnology of the Oceanic peoples. Again, in the London University, a Chair of Sociology, and a Lecturership in Ethnology which has since developed into a Professorship, were both established in 1904 by the generosity of a private gentleman. In the name of Indian students of the Science, I would now earnestly appeal to all wealthy patrons of learning

in India to emulate their brethren in the West and open their purse-strings with similar liberality to advance the cause of anthropological research, and thus help to remove a long-standing reproach against Indian scholarship.

Lastly, I would earnestly appeal to all Indian students who feel attracted to this fascinating branch of study, to master it with assiduity, stick to it through life—through good fortune or evil, apply themselves whole heartedly to the interesting anthropological material abundantly scattered all around them, but—alas!—fast slipping away as the days pass by. I venture to assure them from my own humble experience that such a study will bring with it in the shape, at any rate, of personal satisfaction and delight, an adequate reward for the time spent and trouble taken. Every earnest student of the science will, I doubt not, realise in his own experience the truth and force of what Sir Richard Temple said of Anthropology :—

“There is hardly any better hobby in existence than this, or one that can be ridden with greater pleasure. It cannot, of course, be mastered in a day. At first the lessons will be a grind. Then, until they are well learnt, they are irksome, but when fullness of knowledge and maturity of judgment are attained, there is, perhaps, no keener sense of satisfaction which human beings can experience than that which is afforded by its study. Its range is so wide, its phases so very many, the interests involved in it so various, that it cannot fail to pleasantly occupy the leisure hours from youth to full manhood, and

to be a solace, in some aspect or other, in advanced life and old age".

It is not, however, merely the mental satisfaction to the individual student, that anthropological study and investigation will bring with it in India. Such investigation, properly pursued, will remove a standing reproach against educated Indians ; and its results are expected to prove a great gain to the Indian nation and to the scientific world at large. If we do not shirk the inevitable initial grind and drudgery, but diligently acquire the necessary equipment for anthropological research, patiently pursue the preliminary spade-work with the same enthusiastic devotion and perseverance that characterize students of the Science in the West, abjure all unscientific bias and abstain from rushing into hasty conclusions and premature generalizations from inadequate and unsifted data, we may expect to found, in time, a sober well-equipped Indian School of Anthropology to which the scientific world will look for a correct interpretation of the evolution of Indian man—his racial affinities, mentality and culture. For, such a school may very well be expected to interpret these with more intimate knowledge and better insight and consequently with a greater approach to scientific accuracy than foreign investigators, however assiduous and sympathetic, can ever hope to attain. And thus, and thus alone, will Indian scholarship be enabled, in the fullness of time, to bring its own peculiar and invaluable contributions to Anthropology as it brought in the remote past to Philology, Philosophy and Metaphysics, as it has brought in

our own days to Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics and as it is expected to bring in the not very distant future to other sciences as well.

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## HUMAN SACRIFICE IN CENTRAL INDIA.\*

By RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL, B. A., M. R. A. S.

Deputy Commissioner, Wardha ( C. P. )

Numerous examples have been quoted by Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra and Sir James Frazer showing the prevalence of human sacrifices throughout the world. The underlying idea appears to have been that for securing a valuable object something precious must be sacrificed. What could be more precious than human life and what could be more valuable than crops to human beings ? Thus it is that throughout the world human sacrifices came to be offered chiefly for securing good crops or to make the land fertile. Once the presiding deities tasted human blood, they developed the habit of a man-eater and the idea took root that they could not be appeased with anything less than a human victim. In due course it developed into an institution with elaborate rules such as will be found in the *Rudhiradhyaya* of the *Kalika Purana*. Regular victim-suppliers were appointed, who in the beginning used to supply victims from their own family for grants made to them. In the Bastar State, included in the Central Provinces, a copper plate charter belonging to about the 10th

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\* Read before the Anthropological Section of the Indian Science Congress at its eighth annual sessions, on the 4th February, 1921.

century A. D. was lately found which records the grant of land to the head of the institution which supplied victims for sacrifice. This State contains the shrine of the goddess Danteshwari Debi to whom human sacrifices were lavishly offered, even on ordinary occasions such as a journey outside the State. Once the Bhonsla King called on the Bastar Raja to attend his Court at Nagpur, whereupon the latter sacrificed sixty human beings for his safety during the journey to the Marhatta capital. This occurred in comparatively recent times, and although, soon after it, most stringent measures were taken to stamp out the abominable practice, its efficacy in the primitive mind has not fully abated even now. There is hardly a year when one or two instances of it are not discovered by the Police. Take the latest Police Report of the Central Provinces and you will find the following account given by the District Superintendent of the Chanda District quoted in it :—

'The high priest of the Marias summoned all the neighbouring Marias to attend his harvest festival and procured an adult male from Bastar State whose identity it was difficult to establish. When all had assembled inside the old fort wherein the goddess is enshrined, after a few incantations the priest, with one blow, severed the victim's head from the trunk and, with the help of the eye witnesses or accomplices, as they may be called, buried him in ground impregnated with the spirit of the goddess. Bones were discovered, some of an adult and some of a child, so that the presumption is that more than one sacrifice was offered there. As was expected, the eye-witnesses changed

their statements in Court, but the case was prosecuted as a preventive measure. The discharge of the priest was the signal for great acclamations in Maria land. The alarming sequel related below finally vindicated the triumph of the Maria goddess over the temporal authorities. Wishing to photograph the goddess and her shrine, I visited the spot some time later with some of the eye-witnesses, in order to have the scene enacted *in situ*, but the sacred swarm of bees descended and attacked me leaving the Marias unstung. This was the signal for another outburst of religious fervour in these parts."

Two years back, the Chhattisgarh Division (which includes Bastar) furnished two interesting cases of human sacrifice. In both a life was vowed to the Dulha Deo to save the lives of relatives. In both cases the victims were children.

Three years further back, there were three cases of human sacrifice. In Raipur (a District in Chhattisgarh Division), a lad was snatched from his mother's arms when she was coming home after drawing water. The murderer took him into a room containing idols and then cut off the boy's head with a knife, placing the remains before the idols. He was then at his own request locked up in the room and guarded until the Police arrived. He confessed and suffered the extreme penalty of the law.

Another case occurred in the Chanda District and is described as follows :—

"In July 1914, the *bund* (embankment) of a certain tank burst. It was repaired, but, owing to the heavy rainfall, was on the point of bursting

again. Many goats were sacrificed but the presiding spirit was unappeased. Then the zamindar's agent dreamed a dream in which the genius of the tank appeared to him and demanded a human sacrifice averring he would be appeased by nothing else. He told his dream to four others among whom was the Kotwar. The news spread in the village but apparently occasioned no surprise. Parents hid their own children and awaited events. On August 6th, a child was found ; its fore-head was marked with red lead ; it was taken to the tank, throttled, and thrown in. The tank was saved, and peace settled over the village."

The Maria Gonds, among whom it occurred, are a very primitive people, strongly opposed to any interference with what they regard as their ancient rites and customs, and therefore little evidence was forthcoming. The writer of the report remarked, "The extent to which human sacrifice is still practised is probably greater than is generally supposed, but with people like the Marias it would be necessary to live among them for a long time and gain their confidence before any real information would be divulged."

It should not be supposed that it is only in the recesses of the forests remote from centres of civilization that this sacrifice survives amongst the ignorant aborigines. We find in the Police Report of 1911 a case of human sacrifice in the very capital of the Central Provinces. We will again let the report speak :—

"A curious case occurred in Sitabuldi (a quarter of Nagpur) where an elderly Musalman fell under the

influence of a Hindu Sadhu who lived in his house and seduced him from comparative wealth to absolute penury. Acting, as he himself stated, under the advice of the Sadhu, this foolish old man cut the throat of his own son under the impression that the sacrifice would ensure prosperity to his family for three generations."

It will be seen that all the cases cited occurred during the last decade and they were those that came to the notice of the Police. How many more were secretly disposed of, not only in the Central Provinces but elsewhere throughout India, it is not difficult to imagine. Such is the hold ancient institutions and superstitions have over the minds of the people! Even those who abhor such rites, perform them symbolically as will be seen later on.

It appears that the most primitive custom of sacrificing any living animal was by taking the life with heavy blows without causing Forms of Human Sacrifice. wounds. The other woundless forms were drowning, throwing down from precipices, burial, burning or noosing.

Cutting by the throat was a later elaboration, but it must not be supposed that these came into vogue in the chronological order in which the woundless forms have been mentioned above. Cutting by the throat came in use long before the noose was introduced, the latter being the special form adopted by the Thugs who sincerely believed that they did their duty to their tutelary goddess when they killed people for the possession of their effects.

It is curious to note that the primitive form of the sacrifice is still preserved amongst the Gonds,

who, when offering a goat to their deities, would not cut it but would kill it with blows, just as they do when they offer bullocks or cows to the manes of their parents. They kill them with blows from the blunt side of their axe instead of cutting them with the sharp side. Formerly the sacrifice in some cases assumed a most cruel form. For instance, in some places the victim was placed on a stage with limbs wound round with cords and hot brands applied so as to draw out a superabundance of cries and tears under the belief that the supply of rain would be in proportion to the quantity of tears thus extracted. It was after this torture that the victim was cut to pieces. A more abominable form was the eating of the victim, even for such purposes as preventing the dangers which attend the cropping of hair. The Chief of Namosi in Fiji always ate a man by way of precaution when he had had his hair cut. The Aghoris and the Sab-khiyas or corpse-eaters of Orrisa were equally cannibalistic.

The supposed efficacy of these sacrifices so influenced the minds of the people that they assumed a double aspect, viz:- suicide and murder. The former was prompted by selfish motives and the latter by an expectation of general welfare. In the first category may be included all *Sati* immolations, *Samadhis* or self-burial, self-burning or throwing one's self down from precipices, crushing one's self under sacred cars or drowning in the sacred rivers, either for obtaining some sort of salvation or happiness in the next world or for expiation of sins committed. In the second category, come all sacrifices offered by actual cutting of

the throat, burial, burning or drowning of another or killing by noose or getting trampled by cattle through the agency of the offerers of the sacrifice.

*Sati* immolations were peculiar to India and were committed under the belief that the immolator would enjoy a happy conjugal life with her husband in the next world. It was not an offering to any particular deity but an easy mode of accompanying the deceased husband after his death. *Samadhis* were similarly undergone for attaining a higher plane of existence. Self-burnings were more for expiation than for attaining some palpable gain. Thus, a Gond Raja of Garhamandla who had killed his brother expiated himself by entering a dry hollow *pipal* (*ficus religiosa*) tree and getting fire set to it. Throwing down from precipices was usually adopted for victims offered as sacrifices by their mothers who vowed to offer the first-born in order to secure the longevity of other children that followed. Those were usually called *Karuhtas* who besmeared themselves with oil and jumped down the high rocks of the Vindhya mountains. At Onkar Mandhata the risk of death was taken in the hope of being rewarded with a throne either in this life or in the next. The victim took a leap from the high bank of the Narmada to a rock below sacred to Bhairava. Almost the last sacrifice there was witnessed by a European, whose persuasions against the horrible deed proved of no avail. He writes:- "At length the victim appeared to the aching sight and stood in a bold and erect posture upon the fatal eminence and stepping back was lost to view for a moment. The next second he burst upon our

agonised sight in a most manful leap descending feet foremost with terrific rapidity till in mid-career a projecting rock reversed his position and caused a head-long fall. Instant death followed this descent of 90 ft. and terminated the existence of this youth whose strength of faith and fortitude would have adorned the noblest cause". In the sacrifices under the sacred car like that of Jagannath, a double purpose was served. While the victim went straight to heaven, the safety of the car was ensured by the sacrifice. The Banjaras were similarly wont to place a child in front of their bullocks and to drive them with the result that the child was trampled over and the safety of the cattle secured at least for a year by this ceremony. Many a devout people committed suicide by drowning in the sacred rivers, with a view to obtain religious merit and salvation. Some rivers acquired a habit of taking a human sacrifice annually. Accidental drowning was attributed to the river-spirit taking its usual toll. During floods the river-spirit could not be left to find its own victim and the people usually volunteered to appease him by offering a child. In Berar, the river Purna still claims its offering, which is now managed with a sham ceremony. When the river is flooded, a child is taken in a cradle and placed in the water, the cradle being allowed to be washed by the stream while the child is taken out. The stories of all big tanks are replete with references to human sacrifices. One actual instance has been already quoted from a Police report. The Banjara who dug

the Saugor lake had to sacrifice his son and daughter-in-law without which the lake would not be filled. No Banjara even to this day would drink out of the Saugor lake contaminated as it stands with the blood of their tribe. Since then it is believed that the lake takes two victims annually. In such a large lake two deaths a year by drowning are not unusual, but that is not the popular belief : It is the tank-spirit that causes the drowning for what is due to him.

Since human sacrifices have now been stopped, several substitutes have been found Substitutes for human sacrifice to appease the gods fond of human victims. The most prominent substitute is the cocoanut which resembles a human head. In fact the story of its creation is that Viswa Mitra being enraged commenced making another world, which he wanted to populate with creatures of his own creation, and made a model of a man commencing from the head ; but before he had completed it he was reconciled and gave up the idea. This unfinished model then became the fruit of the cocoanut tree. Hence it is the most suitable representative of a human being and is most universally offered to gods and goddesses. The other substitutes are pumpkins, especially that variety which is known as *bhura kumhra* in Hindi. It is cut in twain by way of sacrifice on the Dasahra day. An elaborate substitute is curds and cooked rice together with oil and a burning wick in a lamp made of flour, the burning wick apparently representing the soul of a human being and the other articles the flesh and blood. This is an offering usually made

to a *rath* or sacred car and is known as *bali-dan* or human sacrifice. The car is made to trample over it to ensure its safe journey.

The world history of human sacrifice goes to show that females were generally exempted **Exemptees from Human sacrifice** from being offered as a victim. If they chose to commit suicide as in the case of a *Sati*, they did it of their own free will. They were not kidnapped or voluntarily offered except in sporadic cases. For instance, it is stated that in the Kangra mountains of the Punjab, a girl used to be annually sacrificed to an old cedar tree, the families of the village taking each its turn to supply the victim. In Greece, once an oracle commanded that a girl should be sacrificed to Artemis, but a goat dressed up as a girl was substituted. Even the merciless Thugs considered it wrong to sacrifice a woman although they could not afford to spare her for fear of their secrecy being divulged; but Col. Sleeman says that no Thug was ever known to offer an insult either by act or speech to the woman they were to murder.

The *Kalika Puran* prohibits the sacrifice of a Brahman, but curiously the aborigines considered a Brahman as a most suitable object for the purpose. The Khurria Rani in the Jashpur State would have none but a Brahman victim. This was perhaps actuated by reciprocity as the wild tribes were generally selected by the Hindus as suitable for supplying victims for what the Puranas call *Narabali*.

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## ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES AND QUERIES.\*

### I. Primitive Economics.

Leaves and creepers still used as wearing apparel, etc.

1. A sort of bark-clothing is still occasionally used by the little-known tribe of the Pahiras in the hills of the Manbhumi district of Chota Nagpur. This clothing is made of the bark of a creeper locally known as *sisulata*. A specimen of this was presented by the Editor of this Journal to the Patna Museum where it may be seen. *Editor.*

2. The Oraon young men in Chota-Nagpur sometimes wear round the waist a girdle made of a jungle creeper. Now-a-days, however, yarns of thread, twisted and dyed black with charcoal-dust and oil are often wound round the waist in several coils to resemble creepers. *Editor.*

3. Rain-hats and long water-proof capes made of the leaves of the *gungu* creeper are used by the Oraons, Mundas, Kharias, Birjias, and some other hill-tribes of Chota-Nagpur. Umbrellas made of the same leaves are also manufactured and used by the same tribes. *Editor.*

4. Among the Bharia Gonds and the Korkus of the Central Provinces, may be occasionally seen coats made of leaves of the *gungu* creeper or of bark-fibres. These coats are evidently an adaptation of earlier

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\*Readers of this Journal coming across analogous customs, traditions, &c. are requested to kindly communicate them to the Editor.

bark-vestments and leaf-attire. In the Korku group, represented in Plate I, the third man from the right is wearing a long coat made of bark-fibres ; and in the Gond group represented in Plate II, the third man from the right is wearing a coat made of *gungu* leaves.

*Editor.*

5. Turbans and head-bands made of creepers, and crowns made of palm leaves, are in use among the Gonds of the Central Provinces. Oraon youths in Chota Nagpur weave and wear head-bands and crowns of various artistic patterns made of a kind of grass or of date-palm leaves. The fourth man in Plate II, is wearing on his head a turban made of creepers and the fifth and sixth men from the right are wearing on their heads crowns made of palm-leaves.

*Editor.*

## II. Primitive Sociology.

1. An interesting vestige of a primitive stage of society may be seen in the archaic custom still obtaining among the Pahira tribe in Chota Nagpur which permits all members of the tribe except the bride's father's agnates, to have access to her during the three nights of dancing and revelry that follow the wedding.

*Editor.*

## III. Primitive Religion.

1. As a possible 'vestige' of a former practice of human sacrifice may be mentioned the 'bul mayom' or the offering of human blood to the spirits, now in vogue among the Santals and some of the Munda tribes. The officiating priest or sacrificer draws his own blood by pricking his skin with a thorn at

PLATE I. A Kurku Group. (*To face page 68*)

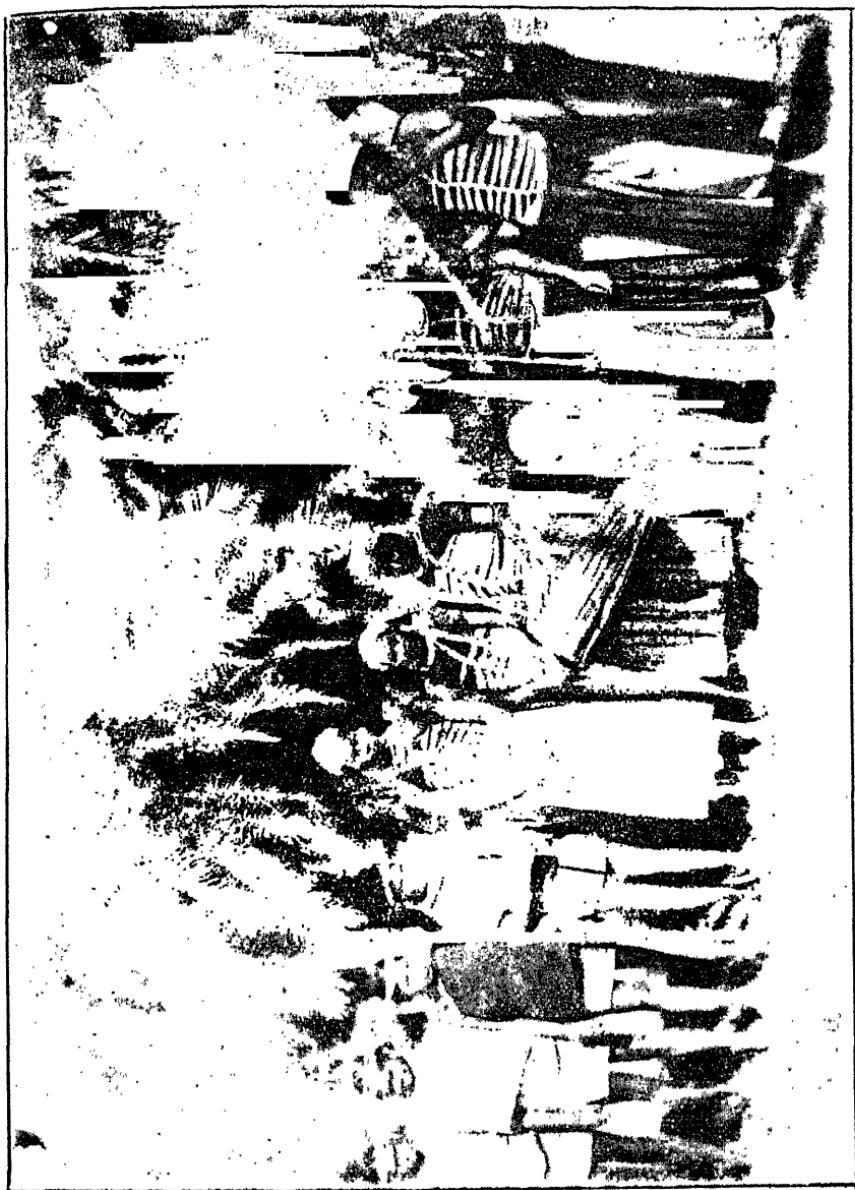
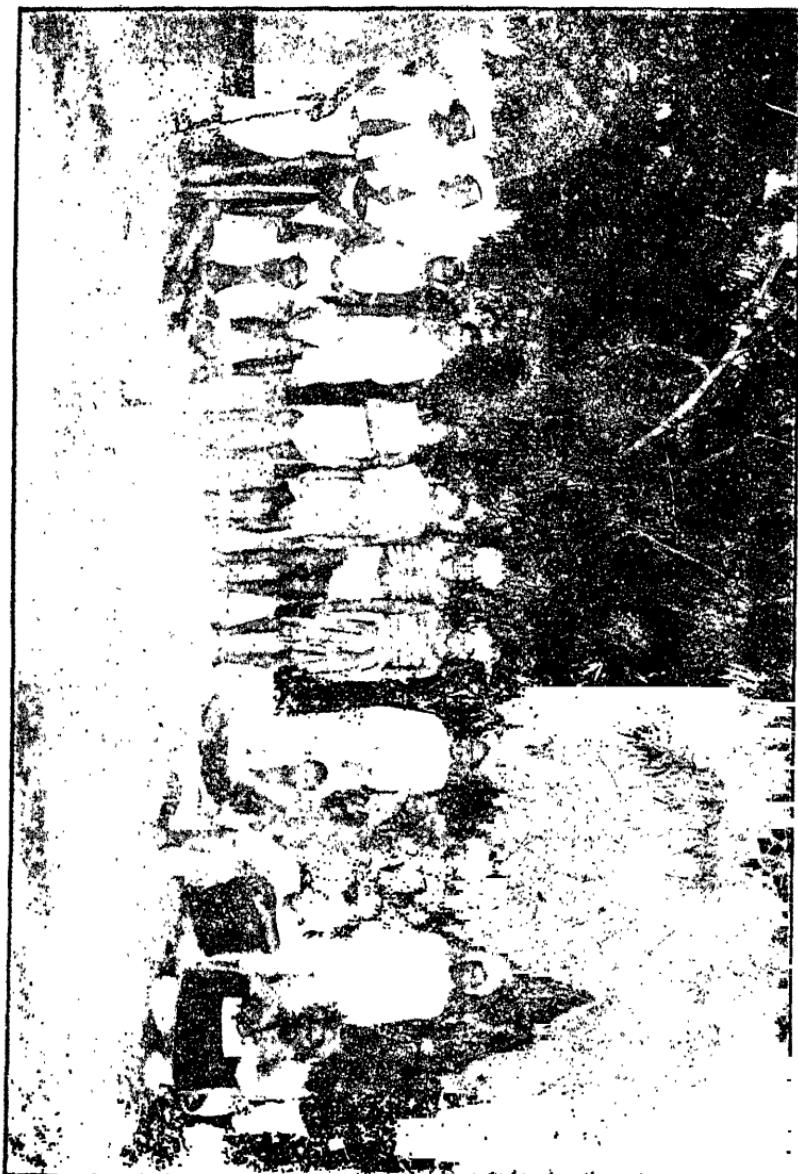


PLATE II. A Group of Gonds.



several places, and with this blood tinges grains of rice which are then offered to the spirit intended to be appeased. The parts of the body from which blood is thus drawn vary in number in different cases from four to thirty-four.

*Editor.*

2. At the *Marang-buru Sendra* or great annual hunt held on the day of the full-moon in the month of Baisak (April-May) on the Paresnath hill (Marang-Buru) in the Hazaribagh district, in which Santals from several Parganas (fiscal divisions) take part, the Dihiri or master of the hunt or his assistant reads omens by what is called the 'da-sunum' (water and oil) method, which is as follows :—He takes one leaf of the Sal (*shorea robusta*) tree in the name of each *pargana* which has sent men to the hunt, rubs mustard oil over the leaf and, through his supposed occult powers, sees a vision of the spirit threatening harm to a particular *pargana*. To avoid such harm, the Kuram Naya or assistant priest of the *pargana* has to offer his own blood by the 'bul mayom' or 'boel-bichi' process. He draws out blood by first pricking with a thorn the skin of the right side of his head, then at several places along the right chest and right leg down to the right foot, next by pricking the skin of the left side of his head and proceeding along the left chest and left leg down to the left foot, next by pricking the back of the head on the right side and proceeding along the back down to the right heel, and finally by pricking the back of the head on the left side and proceeding down the back of the trunk and left leg to the left heel. As he goes on scattering these blood-stained grains of rice

at every pool and water-channel, and fissure and crevice in the rocks, to the spirits supposed to reside in them, he says, “*khudi-iang chauli-jang er-da bes besteko orong omako disom-hor okkare-ho alo dora daga aloko-iyamma*”.

*Editor.*

#### IV. Primitive Magic.

1. Some Mundas seek to kill or injure their enemies by a magic process known as “*ban*” (arrow-shot) which is as follows :—A cotton seed is sown

**Harming a man through his effigy.** on the ground manured with the ashes of a tree struck by lightening. When the cotton plant grows up to a height of about two feet, the stem is cut down and made into a bow, and with this bow an effigy of the person to be killed or injured is shot at. It is believed that this *ban* or arrow-shot will fatally or, at any rate, injuriously affect the person represented by the effigy.

*Editor.*

2. One magical method of rain-making practised by the Mundas of the eastern parts of the Ranchi district is for the men of the village

**Calling down Rain by sympathetic magic.** to assemble early in the morning on the top of a hill, and from there throw down stones of all sizes so that they fall down with a rumbling

noise supposed to resemble the rumbling of thunder; at the same time a similar rumbling sound is also produced from above the hill by beating a *nagera*-drum. Thus they go on throwing down stones and beating drums for three or four hours, and then they all come down to the foot of the hill, where the Pahan or village priest offers a black or red goat or

fowl to the spirit of the hill. Rain is expected to fall before long.

*Editor*

3. To stop rain, the Mundas plant in the ground Magical Praetice a plough with the handle (*karba-dandi*) pointing upwards.—*Editor.*

4. The Birhors observe the following magical rite to stop rain : The youngest member (whatever his age) of a Birhor family puts some *mohua* (*bassia latifolia*) flowers into a small earthen jug, fills the jug with water and covers it up at the mouth with the broad leaf of the *saru* yam, the leaf being held in position with a thread or string passing round the neck of the jug. The jug thus filled with water is buried in a hole which is then covered up with earth. It is believed thst after this it will not be long before the rain ceases.

*Editor.*

5. Among the magical practices in vogue amongst the Birhors for stimulating the growth of paddy

plants, one is concerned with fish. On the evening of the full moon in the month of Baisakh (April), the head of the family brings a small fish and places it in an earthen jug

which is filled with water. Early in the next morning, the water of this jug is sprinkled on the paddy-seeds, on the baskets containing the seed-paddy, on the wooden plank (*gandu*) on which the baskets are kept, on the wooden-measure (*paila*) with which paddy is weighed, and generally all over the house. After besmearing the *gandu*, the basket and the wooden *paila* with rice-flour and marking them with vermillion, and sacrificing a fowl and dropping the fowl's blood on the basket, on the wooden measure, and on the

Magical practice  
to stimulate the  
growth of plants.

paddy-seeds, the seeds are taken to the field and sown. The fish is now taken back to the stream or pool where it had been caught. It is believed that the paddy plants will grow in proportion as this fish will grow.

*Editor.*

6. Some Munda families chain monkeys in front of their houses to ward off the evil eye. It is believed that as monkeys play many pranks that divert people's attention, the evil eye will be turned on the monkey and thus miss the house or its inmates.

*Editor.*

Medical Devices to avert the evil eye and disease-spirit.  
7. Some Munda families suspend the head of a dog in thier compound to ward off the evil eye.

*Editor.*

8. I have seen the large thigh-bone of an ox hung up from the eaves of a Ho's house to avert the influenza epidemic which was raging then in the vicinity.

*Editor.*

9. When a Munda has to pass through a village where an epidemic is raging, or when he goes out to catch fish or on some other important errand, he sometimes adopts the following measures to ward off the epidemic or to avert the evil eye, as the case may be. He wears a new cloth with its borders dyed with turmeric (which is avoided by evil spirits and the evil eye), and also breaks a thorny twig on the way and leaves it pressed beneath a stone so that the disease-spirit or the evil eye may be similarly detained on the way (through sympathetic magic) and prevented from pursuing him.

*Editor.*

10. Among the Bengali Hindus, the fish is considered as a symbol of married life, and a widow may not eat fish. Sometimes when a Bengali Hindu is seriously ill, the wife, by way of a magic rite, ceremonially sits down to dinner wearing a red-bordered silk cloth or other pure cloth and with vermilion marks on her forehead, the most marked feature of the dinner being the predominance of fishes in every dish. This is expected to prolong the wedded life of the lady and, *ergo*, preventing the death of her sick husband.

*Editor,*

## V. TRIBAL TRADITIONS.

1. Some Kharias that I met last year in a village at the foot of the Dolma hill spoke to me of a tradition of theirs that they originally came from Sikharbhumi (the Raja of Pachet's estate) in the North of the Manbhum district, and that the first man and first woman were of the Sabbara *gotra*. Their progeny increased, it is said, to an extent that was not altogether comfortable to them, and so the first man and the first woman of the Sabbara *gotra* left their first home and went to some unknown region far away to the South.

Is there any similar tradition among the Kharias of the Ranchi district? And does their tradition mean the existence of any relationship between the Kharias of Manbhum and the Savaras of the Orissa States?

*Rai Saheb CHUNI LAL RAY, B. A.*

2. One of the most common Songs sung by the

Santals in the Manbhumi district contains the following three lines :

Sirtetang bhai Sikhartetang,  
Munda disomtedo nalom nidinga,  
Munda disomtedo ban bogea :

meaning, "Let us go to Sir (where, by the way, is Sir ?) or to Sikhar (the Pachet Raja's estate). But take us not to the Munda country, for the Munda country is not good". Does this carry any memory of ancient days when the Mundas and the Santals were living side by side, but, later, separated owing to some split in the camp ? Is there any tradition among the Mundas alling forth memories of any unpleasantness with their Santal neighbours ?

*Rai Saheb CHUNI LAL RAY, B. A.  
Superintendent of Excise, Manbhumi.*

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## ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES AND NEWS.

The Indian Science Congress.

The Eighth annual meeting of the Indian Science Congress which was held in Calcutta from the 31st January to the 5th February last, is specially interesting to students of Anthropology in India by reason of the inauguration or rather revival of an independent section of Anthropology in the Congress. The Editor of this Journal was elected President of the Anthropological section, and a number of interesting papers were read and discussed. The Presidential address with slight adaptations and elaborations has been printed at pages 11—56 above. Another paper, that on 'Human Sacrifice in Central India' by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal also appears as the fourth article in the present number of this Journal. In that paper, as will be seen, the author referred to the universal prevalence in olden days of human sacrifices throughout the world, and its present continuance in certain parts in India as evidenced by Police Reports, and described various forms of human sacrifices such as cutting the throat, drowning, burning, burial, and throwing down from precipices. He next referred to the crushing under cars, trampling by cattle, and killing by the noose, besides various modern substitutes for human sacrifices such as cocoanuts, pumpkins, curds, and rice and flour with a lamp. The author concluded by men-

tioning certain exemptees from such sacrifices, such as Brahmans etc.

The other papers read in the Anthropological section were the following :—

1. Mr. Panchanan Mitra, M. A., of the Calcutta University, read a paper on "*Indian Megaliths :—their origin and chronology*". The author summarises this paper as follows :—

Prof. Elliot Smith now practically holds the field with his theory of the *Origins of the megalithic cult in Proto Dynastic Egypt and dispersal thence all over the world*. The old studies of Walhouse and Fergusson who had first-hand knowledge of Indian megaliths resulted in premising an *Western influence*. The recent studies of Mr. Longhurst also point to an *Egyptian-like culture* which produced the countless megaliths in the Deccan. The recent excavation of *Asura sites in Ranchi* by Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy turns our attention to the references in the Satapatha Brahmana (c. 8th century B. C.) ; and Dr. Block after laying bare some mounds at Lauriya Nandangargh in Bihar had hinted at their possible antiquity and representation of *Vedic rituals*. While the existence of similar mounds in Central Asia and further north from Pumpelly and Micrus lead us to suppose the existence of a separate *mound-cult* in that region and its dispersal therefrom,—the variety of Indian megaliths, its distribution in large numbers near the Southern seaboard and its survival amongst the tribes of pre-Dravidian tracts in India indicate that this was probably *the result of an 'Indo-Erythraean' culture*.

complex beginning in times contemporaneous with *Pre-Dynastic and Proto-Dynastic Egypt* and continuing up to the days of Dravidian domination when prehistoric India was in intimate cultural contact with Egypt and possibly Central Asia, roughly calculated at between 3,000 and 1,000 (*to 200*) B.C.

2. In another paper, the same writer (Mr. P. Mitra) gave an account of a large palaeolith which he reported to have found in a river-terrace near Ghatsila in the Singbhum district, and also a small neolithic axe-head and rock-carving found close by. The author claimed Australian affinities for the latter.

3. Mr. N. G. Majumdar, M.A., of the Calcutta University, in a paper on "*The Thunder-weapon in Eastern Art and Religion*" gave an account of the various forms of thunder-weapon (*bujra*) prevalent in Eastern Art, and referred to the cults connected with them. The author attempted to prove that Siva was originally a god of thunder and three of his characteristic marks, viz., the bull, the trident and the axe were borrowed from the representation of Adad in Western Asian Art. He also discussed the worship of thunder symbols in ancient and modern India and gave illustrations from the Lamaic art of Tibet.

4. Mr. B. C. Majumdar B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., of the Calcutta University in a paper on "*The Aryans in India*" advanced several grounds in support of his plea for a reconsideration of the whole Aryan question. He did not offer any theory of his own as to the origins of the so-called Aryans but attempted to

show that the facts generally put forward by the supporters of the theory that the ancestors of the 'Vedic fathers' could not be autochthonous in India do not necessarily lead to such a conclusion. Mr. Majumdar declared that he knew of no theory hitherto promulgated that could be even tentatively accepted to work out the problem. Even the latest theory associated with the name of a scientist was partly based upon the old foundation once laid by certain philologists upon flimsy material. An indication of the author's view-point may be gathered from the following passage in his paper : "As the area of 12,000 sq. miles (which is precisely the area of only one division of Bengal, namely the Presidency Division) was quite sufficient for the Old Egyptians to develop a great civilization and as the Babylonians exposed on three sides to the attack of the barbarians, could nurture a high culture of their own within a small area, the vast country of the Punjab extending from old Gandhara to the Sarasvati may very easily be conceived to have been the nurture-ground of the Vedic civilization. I name the Punjab not actually to formulate any theory but to suggest that a quest for an 'elsewhere' does not necessarily arise to explain the appearance of the Vedic fathers of India".

5. Mr. H. C. Chakladar, M. A., of the Calcutta University read a paper on "*The Ethnic Origin of the Bengalis*" which may be summarised as follows :—The Bengalis belong to the brachycephalic variety of the Indo-Aryan family and not to the Mongolo-Dravidians as held by Risley. Again, the brachycephalic Indo-Aryans (represented by the Bengalis, the

Marathas, the Gujratis, etc.) colonised India earlier than the dolichocephalic variety which came in later and filled the regions about the Ganges and the Jamuna. The more civilised and hence softer brachycephals were pushed on to the east and the south. In supporting his theory as against those of Grierson, R. P. Chanda and Prof. Giuffrida-Ruggeri, the author adduced certain anthropological and linguistic considerations as being in his favour. He further attempted to show that the brachycephalic Aryans colonised Bengal in the period between the composition of the *Samhita* and the *Brahmana* portions of the *Veda*.

As for Risley's theories, the author tried to show that not only were Risley's conclusions incorrect but that even his data were collected in an unscientific method.

6. Prof. R. P. Chanda, B.A., in a paper on the "Primitive Background of Early Buddhism," discussed the origin of Tree and Mound worship in Buddhism and the ethnic affinities of the population of the cradle-land of Buddhism. The railing of Bharut was referred to as an illustrated manual of early Buddhism.

7. Mr. Probodh Chandra Bagchi, M.A., in a paper on the "Animistic Elements of Jainism," discussed the beginnings of Jainism, and explained how the incorporation of the religious beliefs of the people of lower culture became possible in Jainism. Certain animistic elements were traced in Jaina philosophy, and Jaina ritual and superstitions ; and

the existence of similar elements in other forms of popular religion in India was referred to.

8. Mr. Tarak Chandra Das, M.A., read a paper on "Folk-elements in the Marriage Ceremonies of Certain Hindu Castes in Bengal". He described how side by side with the Shastric rites and ceremonics in a Hindu wedding ceremonial are to be found various popular elements which are of great ethnological significance. An attempt was made to trace the origin of some of these folk elements and the environment which helped their growth and preservation.

9. Mr. S. C. Mitra, M.A., B.L., in a paper on the "*Karma Dharmu Festival of North Bihar and its Munda Analogue*" described the *Karma* festival which is celebrated by the Bihari womenfolk on the eleventh day in the bright fortnight of the Hindi month of Bhado (August—September). In this ceremonial worship, the woman who is celebrating it, remains fasting and digs two small holes one of which she fills with water and the other with milk. In the space intervening between these two ponds, she plants a clump of the sacred *Kusa* grass. On the evening of the day of worship, she twines together as many stalks of the *Kusa* grass with her hands as she has brothers. Then the deity Vishnu is worshipped with various offerings including *pipal* (*ficus religiosa*) leaves and areca-nuts. Thereafter she drinks a little of the water from the ponds and hears the legends recited by the priest.

After hearing the legends, she untwines the straws of the *Kusa* grass ; thereafter she breaks her fast by

taking fruit, etc. But if she altogether abstains from taking food on that day, and breaks her fast on the next morning, it is considered very meritorious.

On the morning of the next day, she throws away the flowers, etc. used in the worship, as also the water and milk of the ponds and the clump of *Kusa* grass into a neighbouring river.

The few offerings used in the worship are presented to the Brahman priest who has officiated at the worship.

Mr. S. C. Mitra then compared this Bihari ceremonial worship with the *Karma* Festival of the Mundas of Chota Nagpur. This also is performed by the Munda womenfolk on the eleventh day in the light fortnight of the month of Bhado. A branch of the *Karma* (*Nauclea parvifolia*) tree is planted in the court-yard of the celebrant's house. The woman who is celebrating it has to fast the whole day long. The *Pahan* or the Munda priest propitiates the *Karma* branch with the sacrifice of a fowl; and the woman who is celebrating it makes an offering of betel-leaves and areca-nuts before the said branch. Thereafter she listens to the legend which is recited by the *Pahan*. On the morning of the next day, the *Karma*-branch is carried in procession and thrown into a tank or stream.

The Bihari woman performs this ceremonial worship known as the *Karma Dharma*, under the belief that by performing it, she and her brothers will be relieved of all their troubles. The Munda woman probably performs it under the belief that, by celebrating this feast, she acquires merit for her brothers.

From the five points of similarity between the aforementioned Bihari ceremonial worship and the Munda festival, Mr. S. C. Mitra concludes that the Mundas borrowed this worship from their Hindu neighbours who are resident in Chota Nagpur.

10. In another paper, Mr. S. C. Mitra described a "Bihari Ceremonial worship of Totemic Origin", which may be summarised as follows :—

It has been stated by an eminent European authority on Indian Anthropology that, in totemism, the effective and ineffective factors can be distinguished clearly, and that the magical ritual of the Arunta tribe of Australia belongs to the ineffective class. For, he says, that no one outside the Arunta tribe supposes that, by performing the most elaborate parody of the demeanour of certain animals, a man can really cause them to increase and multiply. It is further stated that the totemistic tribes and castes of India have, on the other hand, got rid of all such antics or mimicry of the demeanour of animals, if indeed they ever practised them, and have retained only the undoubtedly effective part of their totemistic cult, namely, the rule that a man may not marry a woman of his own totemistic sept. These peoples also observe the rule that no member of their respective totemistic septs should eat, make use of, or injure their respective totems. This prohibition has become weakened, as for instance, in the case of those septs that have rice and salt for their totems ; the clansmen ignore this prohibition altogether and partake of these indispensably neces-

sary articles of food<sup>1</sup>. Mr. Mitra pointed out the existence of an Indian people among whom all traces of their having ever been subdivided into totemistic clans or septs have altogether disappeared, but who still present food-offerings to certain mammals and birds which might very likely have once been their totem-animals, although among them the prohibition to injure or kill these animals has altogether fallen into desuetude.

This is the case with the Hindus of Bihar. Although there is not the slightest trace among them of their having ever been subdivided into totemistic clans or septs, they still perform a curious ceremonial worship in the course of which they present food-offerings to kites and jackals—a fact which might raise the presumption that these birds and mammals might once have been their totem-animals. Then again, the prohibition to injure or kill these birds and mammals has altogether disappeared from among them, for they kill them without the least religious scruples.

This ceremonial worship of the Bihari Hindus is known as the *Jiutiya Vrat* (जितिया व्रत). It is performed on the eighth day in the light fortnight of the Hindi month of Bhado (August—September).

At about 2 or 3 A. M. in the night of the preceding day or the *Saptami* day, the woman who performs this *vrat* partakes of a meal and, at the first streak of dawn, puts some *puris* or pan-cakes fried in clarified butter,

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<sup>1</sup>The People of India. By Sir Herbert Risley. Revised Edition of 1915. Page 107.

*dahi* or curdled milk and fish on a leaf-platter made of the leaves of the cucurbitaceous plant known as नेतृया [Bengali, खुँडुल; *Luffa aegyptiaca*] and places these articles of food (on the leaf-platter) out on the terrace of her house as offerings to the kites [चिलहो; *Milvus govinda*] and the jackals [गिंगोर; *Canis aurens*].

She wholly abstains from taking any food whatever on the day of this worship and does not even wash her mouth and cleanse her teeth. Then on the morning of the next day, she hears the legend which is recited by the other women of the household and breaks her fast.

This Bihari ceremonial worship derives its name *Jiutiya* from the deity Jitu or Jitavahana (जितु or जितवाहन) whose name is only incidentally mentioned in the legend which is recited at the finale of this worship but who does not appear to be actually worshipped by the offering up of any prayers or by the presentation of any offerings to him.

On the other hand, the kite (*Milvus govinda*) and the jackal (*Canis aurens*) are treated as deities who are propitiated by the presentation of the aforementioned food-offerings. For these reasons, Mr. Mitra is of opinion that this Bihari ceremonial worship is probably of totemistic origin.

11. Prof. H. C. Das Gupta, M. A., in a paper on "The supposed discovery of a Neolithic Indian Script", discussed the evidences of the existence of a supposed neolithic script in India put forward in a paper in "The Indian Antiquary", 1920, and

gave reasons for thinking that the existence of such a script was not established. More cogent evidence was required to prove the existence of such a script.

12. In another paper, Prof. H. C. Das Gupta described "*A Type of Sedentary Game in the Punjab.*" The peculiarities of this game known as the *bara-guti* as played in the Punjab, were pointed out and illustrated by diagrams. The author suggested that students of Ethnology should investigate whether some of the sedentary games of the Malayan Archipelago were originally derived from Northern India.

13. Dr. A. N. Chatterji, M.B., B. S., described an "*Old Skull from the banks of the Subarnarekha River*". It was a small brachycephalic skull of an adult, although the present population of the tract where it was found are markedly dolichocephalic.

14. Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, B. Sc., read two papers, one on "*The Statistical Tests of Homogeneity in Physical Anthropology*", and the other on "*The Head-length and Head-breadth of an Anglo-Indian sample*".

The following is a Summary of his paper on the—"Statistical Tests of Homogeneity in Physical Anthropology".

In Physical Anthropology, it is usual to take measurements of a group of individuals. All the individuals included in any particular group should belong to the same sub-caste, caste, tribe, race or people concerned,—that is, each group must be *homogeneous*.

The usual plan, hitherto followed, seems to have been, to decide on extra-anthropometrical grounds, the question whether a particular individual does or does not belong to a particular group. The importance of such *a priori* (in the sense of extra-anthropometrical) evidence need not be minimised ; it is however necessary, if anthropometry is to become an independent line of enquiry, to formulate *anthropometrical* tests of homogeneity. For example, in the case of a sample of Anglo-Indians, it is necessary to decide, on the evidence of physical measurements, whether the Anglo-Indians may be properly considered to constitute an "anthropometrical group" in any sense of the word. The question is not whether a particular individual is an Anglo-Indian but whether the "Anglo-Indian group" is an anthropological reality, and, if so, to what extent.

Prof. Mahalanobis proceeded to discuss statistical tests of homogeneity, depending primarily on anthropometrical measurements themselves.

He described the proper tests as follows :—

The sample must of course be "fair", that is, representative in character. The obvious test is the agreement of two independent samples (or sub-samples) within the limits of probable errors. This criterion indirectly tests the homogeneity of the sample to some extent.

(I) The sample should be capable of graduation by a smooth homo-typic frequency curve. This, however, is not sufficient.

(II) The frequency curve should be simple, that is, it should not be capable of being analysed into simpler components.

(III) The general nature and type of the frequency curve should be the same as the nature and type of curves given by known homogeneous samples.

(IV) The variability (as measured by the Standard Deviation or the Coefficient of Variation) should be within the limits of the Variability of the race or people concerned. The statistical Variability would also furnish a convenient sliding scale of increasing (or decreasing) homogeneity.

15. In his second paper on "the Head Length and Head Breadth of an Anglo-Indian Sample", the question of the Homogeneity of the Anglo-Indians, (with respect to these two characters) were discussed by Prof. Mahalanobis from the point of view of the tests described in his first paper.

16. Mr. J. Hornell, F. L. S., F. R. A. I., read a paper on "Catamarans and other shaped rafts, their distribution and ethnic significance". An abstract of this paper will be published in our next number.

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# MAN IN INDIA.

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## THE DOCTRINE OF REBIRTH IN VARIOUS AREAS IN INDIA.

BY COL. T. C. HODSON, F. R. A. I.

In a paper read some years ago before the Cambridge Anthropological Society on *Tree Marriage among the Santals*, I showed—

- (1) that they believe that deceased members of the tribe are reborn in the family to which they belonged ;
- (2) that the names of ancestors are given to children by a rite of divination to ascertain what ancestor has been reborn ;
- (3) that the bones of those who die ordinary deaths are placed in the tribal ossuary at the time of the secondary funeral rite known as the Great Marriage—a communal rite which completes the funeral obsequies ;
- (4) that those who die violent and strange deaths are not treated in the same way and their bones are not transferred in the tribal ossuary ;
- (5) that the spirits of “good men pass into fruit-bearing trees”, and that the fruit trees *par excellence* of this area are the mango and

the *mahua*. the trees which are associated with Tree Marriage.

I inferred that the process of re-incarnation made its start by means of the rite of Tree Marriage.

I shall now adduce cases where the same association of beliefs and practices is found. The belief that deceased members of the tribe are reborn is found in some cases with a feature of the marriage rite closely resembling Tree Marriage with variations in funeral ritual consequent on either the mode of death which involves variations in the fate of the soul—or on differences of social status, that is, cases where Indian social groups distinguish the married as eligible for reincarnation from the unmarried who are regarded as not so eligible.

I propose to describe a case where Hindu practice inspired by this belief in re-incarnation, is expressed in a marriage system which has associated with it features of other and general interest.

I shall not discuss the various views current as to the nature of the soul or re-incarnable element.

I shall not touch on the origin and history of the belief in Reincarnation or in its association with the doctrine of Karma.

I shall not explore the reasons why this belief which in the lower culture sometimes makes reincarnation appear as a reward of good living—as good living is viewed in the lower culture,—is transformed by philosophy and theologic exigencies into the principle that reincarnation is the result of appetites in this life which ought to be suppressed by all possible means in order that the chain of

causation may be snapped and the soul set free for all eternity.

Of the Santals it is stated <sup>1</sup> that the eldest son takes the name of his paternal grandfather, a second son that of his maternal grandfather, a third son that of his paternal grandfather's brother, the fourth son that of the maternal grandfather's brother, etc. A similar custom is observed in the case of girls, the names of relations on the female side being given. This is attributed to the belief in re-incarnation. It is certain that the method of divination is found in this area since Sarat Chandra Roy <sup>2</sup> and Hahn <sup>3</sup> describe it as used by the Mundas and Oraons respectively while the Hos and Khonds certainly use it. Curiously enough the Hos <sup>4</sup> are said not to have the belief in re-incarnation.

Sarat Chandra Roy's <sup>5</sup> account of the Mundas shows that the marriage rites contain the tree-marriage ceremony. It is called the *uli sakhi* (*uli*=mango and *sakhi*=witness or evidence). The name is selected by divination and the ancestor whose name is given is the *sakhi* of the child. The use of the term *sakhi* is a curious coincidence. It is a word of Aryan origin. What Munda word it translates I don't know, but, if any, it might be possible to find out. There are dual funeral ceremonies as among the kindred Santals and the belief in re-incarnation is held.

<sup>1</sup>Bengal Census Report 1911, 331.

The Mundas p. 458.

<sup>2</sup>Hahn, Kols Mission p. 72.

<sup>4</sup>Bengal Census Report, 1911, p. 331.

<sup>5</sup>The Mundas p. 471.

From Chota Nagpur I turn to Mysore. The monographs of the Ethnographic Survey are documents of great value, models of simplicity and clearness. In the first monograph that on the Kurubas<sup>6</sup> a shepherd caste, it is stated that the marriage booth has twelve posts, three of which must be of green wood, while one must be of *kalli* wood and cut by the maternal uncle. This post is called the milk post and is, we are told, for the purpose of ensuring continuity of the line. The names given to children are those of the family god or of an ancestor and are suggested by a sooth-sayer. They bury the dead. The spirit of the dead is believed to reside in the bodies of crows. If these birds eat the food placed on the grave, all is well. If not, it is a proof that the deceased is troubled. They worship men who die unmarried. In marriage the daughter of the mother's brother is particularly recommended and the daughter of the elder sister can be married and in some places the daughter of the younger sister is also eligible. The bridegroom's sister sometimes makes him promise to give his future daughter to her son.

It is recorded of the Killekyatas<sup>7</sup> (monograph XXII) a wandering tribe of picture-showmen of Mahratta origin known in Bombay as Katbus that the names of departed ancestors should be given to children. The marriage-post is brought in by the maternal uncle of the bride. The dead are

<sup>6</sup>Monograph I.

<sup>7</sup>Monograph XXII.

generally buried. Those dying of leprosy and pregnant women are cremated while those who meet with unnatural deaths from wild animals are sometimes buried under stone heaps. Married persons are buried in a sitting, unmarried in a lying, position. They believe that their ancestors—especially the married—always remain with them. They have two main divisions-cousin marriage and the extortion of a promise of a daughter from the husband by the wife's party. Stone scales are put on the grave and Tulsi plants planted there. The youngest son succeeds.<sup>8</sup>

The essential and binding part of the marriage ceremony varies in different parts. In the United Provinces the young couple walk round not a fire but a marriage-shed or pole<sup>9</sup>. Whether this is a survival of tree marriage, I cannot say but it is not impossible.

Among the Nagas<sup>10</sup> of Manipur the idea is common that men are re-born, that the mode of death is dependent on conduct in life and is a sure indication of the fate of the soul. Unnatural deaths occasion a village *genna* while ordinary deaths are discharged by a *genna* of the clan to which the deceased belonged. Distinctions are made in the details of the funerary ritual for the reason that the fate of the souls of the unnatural dead is absolute extinction.

<sup>8</sup>India Census Report, 1911, 257.

United Provinces C. R. 1911, 222.

<sup>10</sup>Naga Tribes, p. 100—174.

Bei einen erstgeborenen Knaben werden die Namen des nachsten verstorbenen Verwandten gemessen in den glubben etc.

The Lushais<sup>11</sup> have two heavens—Piel-ral and Mithi-kua. The souls who reach Piel-ral—a difficult task—stay there for ever. They are those who have performed certain sacrifices or have achieved conspicuous success in the practice of the amatory art. The souls in Mithi-kua die again and are reborn as butterflies, they die again and appear as dew, and if this falls on man, the soul is re-born as his child. The mechanism of re-incarnation is thus explained; and the Angami Nagas<sup>12</sup> to the north have similar beliefs. Fruit trees play no part in the economic life of these people. With some Nagas the continuity of the line is associated with the stone monuments.<sup>13</sup>

Colonel Shakespear<sup>14</sup> says definitely that the Anal, Kolhen and Lamgang—indeed, all the old Kuki clans—believe that after hovering around the grave for some time the spirit is re-incarnated in some newborn child but that an unnatural death prevents this and the spirit passes away skywards and returns no more.

The Garos<sup>15</sup> are matrilineal, practise cross-cousin marriage, require the son-in-law to marry his mother-in-law on the death of the father-in-law and have the belief in re-incarnation. For them re-birth into the same motherhood is a great reward and comes after a period of penance. Children are nearly always

<sup>11</sup> Lushai Kuki Tribes, p. 62.

<sup>12</sup> Assam Census Report, 1910, p. 140.

<sup>13</sup> Brown's Account of Munnipore, p. 116.

<sup>14</sup> Lushai Kuli Tribes p. 158.

<sup>15</sup> The Garos p. 72. Assam C. R., 1910, p. 72. India C. R. 1910, p. 237.

named after an ancestor who has been dead for some years. The stay in the probationary heaven is affected by the cause of death or by conduct during the previous existence. Those killed by elephants or tigers are reborn in elephants and tigers and cannot again inhabit a human body. The body of a person killed by a tiger may not be taken inside the village and he is denied the usual funeral rites. They have dual funerary rites to lay the bones to rest in the tribal ossuary. The Naga<sup>16</sup> custom of the Manglatha is an annual ceremony to speed the souls to their rest.

The Audhiyas<sup>17</sup> described by Mr. Crooke cremate the ordinary dead. If a person has died of drowning or other accident, cholera, poison, smallpox, or leprosy, the regular death ceremony (*kriya karma*) is not performed. In such cases the observance is known as Narayana Bala. The corpse is at once consigned to the Ganges and, within a year, a Maha-Brahman is paid to make a representation of the deceased in gram-flour upon which the regular rites are performed. One Brahman is fed at the end of each month and six at the end of the sixth month. When the anniversary of the death comes round, twelve Brahmans are feasted. The spirits of ancestors who have died childless are propitiated in the same way and in some cases the relatives employ a Brahman to go to Gaya and perform the regular Sraddha. Crooke<sup>18</sup> tells us elsewhere that leprosy is a disease which is specially regarded as a punishment for sin.

<sup>16</sup> Naga Tribes p. 17.

<sup>17</sup> Castes and Tribes of the N. W. P. and Oudh, Vol 1. p. 90.

<sup>18</sup> Popular Religion of Northern India p. 128 11 91.

Hindu practice as stated by Pandit Hari Kishan Kaul<sup>19</sup> is to bury a baby who dies without suckling or before the performance of *nāmakarna*—i. e. within 11 or 12 days of birth. If older, he is drowned or, if no river is by, buried provided that he dies under five years of age after which a child is cremated.

The Lingayats<sup>20</sup> and Jogis<sup>21</sup> bury their dead. They claim that their austerities and asceticism, their sanctity and mode of life entitle them to become *jivanmukta* at death, that is liberated from the liability to rebirth. Thurston<sup>22</sup> notes that the Lingayats bury the unmarried in a reclining position and the married in a sitting position.

The Khonds<sup>23</sup> hold that the power to re-enter the family at some future time is acquired only when the child has become an adult and been married. Female infanticide among these Khonds was attributed to the desire to reduce the number of female souls.

There are thus two methods of classifying the dead. In rare cases both methods are at work. The one sorts them out according to the mode of death which, on the one hand, is consequent on conduct in life and, on the other, affects the fate of the soul and indicates what that fate will be. The other method distinguishes between the socially mature, the married, and the unmarried as socially immature. But the

<sup>19</sup>Panjab C. R., 1911, p. 108.

<sup>20</sup>S. V. Castes and Tribe of S. India S. V.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Bengal C. R., 1911, p. 330.

underlying principle in both systems of classification is the eligibility for re-incarnation.

In the Central Provinces,<sup>24</sup> it is generally believed among Hindus that a dead person will be re-born in the same family within three generations. The grand-father dies and the grand-son is born. "Three generations continue to survive" is a proverb quoted in the Akola Gazetteer. If a birth and death occur simultaneously in a family, transmigration is believed to have taken place. In many castes, marks are made on the body with *ghi*, oil, or charcoal, and children subsequently born are carefully examined for these marks as tokens of identity. Any resemblance to an ancestor of feature or physical peculiarity such as birth-marks are carefully noted when a child is born and that ancestor's name is at once conferred. Various methods are used for divining what particular ancestor has become born.

The rite of *pumsavana*<sup>25</sup> starts the process. It is performed three months after conception and before quickening. It is a right of Shastric authority.

Marriage, according to the Shastras, is a religious tie, and childbearing is allowed primarily only to a limited extent.<sup>26</sup> The object is to secure male offspring and when a female and a male child or at most two sons have been begotten the marriage relationship is supposed to end. These ordinances are not observed at the present day. Certain Reddis expect a woman to cease child-bearing when her

<sup>24</sup>Central Provinces C. R., 1911, p. 159.

<sup>25</sup>Bengal C. R., 1911, p. 333.

<sup>26</sup>Punjab C. R., 1911, p. 280. C. R., 1901, p. 215.

eldest son brings home his wife. For a Brahman particularly the sexual relationship is supposed to end when the first son is born; for the son is considered to be the Self born under the name of a *putra* (son). The wife producing the son becomes the mother of the Self and consequently to be respected as the own mother. This injunction is only meant for Brahmans but the performance of the funeral rites of the husband in the fifth month of the first pregnancy prevailing in some places among the Kochhar Khatris seems to be a remnant of this idea. Another outcome of this idea is a ceremony called *devkuj* probably a corruption of *daiva karya* or ceremony prescribed by the gods in which the husband and wife go through the formalities of a marriage a second time after the birth of the first son and sometimes of the second but invariably before the tonsure ceremony of the first<sup>27</sup>. The Kolitas of Orissa remarry their parents when the eldest son or daughter marries.

The extreme rigour of the idea that the son is the reincarnation of his father is exemplified by the Nambuthiri Brahmans of Malabar<sup>28</sup> to whom is assigned the highest place in the Hindu-Dravido system of Southern India. As the father is re-born in the eldest son, that son alone is permitted to make a full marriage. This has interesting social results. On the one hand, the younger sons make marriages of a less formal nature with women of other castes below them up to the high caste Nayars.

<sup>27</sup>Bengal C. R., 1911, p. 327.

<sup>28</sup>Castes & Tribes of S. India. S. V

On the other hand, there is polygyny by means of which the excess of women is absorbed. Anantha Krisna Iyer<sup>29</sup>, himself a Brahman, adds cases of mixed marriages between a girl of Vedic parentage and a man of non-Vedic parentage, a marriage which is against the rule that a woman should only marry a man of equal or higher status.

In the absence of a son, marriage is allowed to a junior and in cases where a suitable wife cannot be had the daughter of the maternal uncle is married. The bridegroom takes a ceremonial bath to signify that all relationship with her has ceased. Nambuthiris of South Malabar seldom marry girls from North Malabar but give their girls to their fellows in that area. This relationship between two groups is designated hypergamy and is found in many parts of India, Risley<sup>30</sup> describes it as "a usage which might arise whenever an invading race bringing with it comparatively few women took captives from among the people whose territory they occupied. It is defined<sup>31</sup> as the rule whereby when a caste is divided into several sections of different status (frequently the result of a different origin) parents are obliged to marry their daughters into an equal or higher section and if they fail to do so, are themselves reduced to the status of the section in which their daughter marries. The men may marry girls of their own or any inferior section but the girls may marry only in their own or a higher

<sup>29</sup>Cochin Tribes and Castes II S. V.

<sup>30</sup>People of India. 179.

<sup>31</sup>India C. R., 1911, p. 255.

one...It is the demand on the part of the lower sections to secure husbands from the higher which constitutes the essence of hypergamy."

For Hindus, marriage is a matter of religious duty. A man must marry in order to beget a son who may perform his funeral ceremonies and rescue his soul and the souls of his ancestors from hell.<sup>32</sup> It is equally obligatory for a father to obtain a husband for his daughter and the most awful penalties are threatened if a girl should attain puberty while still unmarried. The general feeling amongst Hindus at the present day supports the view of the Shastras, and amongst many castes a man who fails to procure a husband for his daughter before she becomes mature is liable to social ostracism.

Despite these terrible penalties, social and spiritual, a Hindu is surrounded in course of long ages by other rules and restrictions.<sup>33</sup> By Hindu law which is followed by most high castes, *sapindas*, i. e., any two persons whose common ancestor is not further removed than six degrees on the male and four degrees on the female side, may not intermarry. This, we are told, excludes no less than 2121 possible relations.

Nevertheless the family goes on. It is in Indian thought an unbroken chain of vitality, a succession of *avatars*.<sup>34</sup> Its essence is re-incarnation.

Marriage rules are rules laid down by society for the regulation of the conditions under which this succession of reincarnations shall be effected.

<sup>32</sup>Bengal C. R., 1901, p. 249.

<sup>33</sup>United Provinces C. R., 1911, p. 211.

<sup>34</sup>Punjab C. R., 1901, p. 332.

Marriage rites are the positive means by which this succession of re-incarnations is brought about.

The most general marriage rule is the rule of exogamy which McLennan<sup>35</sup> defined as the principle which prohibited marriage within the tribe.

The negative aspect of the rule has rightly been regarded as of great importance. The rule may be stated positively and with reference to the idea that the family is a succession of re-incarnations, as the principle that full membership of a group is restricted to those who are born of the union of women of one section of the group with men of another section of the group and are believed to be re-incarnations of deceased members of the group or even of living members of the group.

As I see it, the rule requires as a minimum that groups—whatever the nature of the bond that makes groups—shall consist of two sections.

The section may be the family—the patriarchal family—or the clan, but there must be at least two such sections. The sections may be patrilineal or matrilineal or even on a sex basis as among the Hill Kacharis<sup>36</sup> where a man belongs to his father's section and a girl to her mother's section.

The main facts which point to the existence at one time or another in India of societies organised on a dual basis have been referred to by Dr. Rivers<sup>37</sup> and in the Census Report<sup>38</sup>. As a phase of dual organisation,

<sup>35</sup> Primitive Marriage p. 53.

<sup>36</sup> Assam C. R., 1891, p. 226.

<sup>37</sup> J. A. S., July 1901, p. 611 Sq.

<sup>38</sup> India C. R., 1911, p. 253.

I will add the case of the Naga village of Liyai<sup>39</sup> where I found that there were four sections, grouped into pairs. A and B were related sections and could not intermarry. C and D were related in the same way. If, as I think was the case, the rule was that a man must not marry into his mother's clan, then there would be only one of the opposite pair of sections from which any man could take a wife since *ex hypothesi* his mother would have come from the other section. As I pass I may also call attention to the curious arrangement among the Taraus<sup>40</sup> connected with the Chirus and the Aimol people and neighbours of the Ronte<sup>41</sup> who are on a dual basis. There are four sections, A, B, C, and D. A gets its wives from D who gets its wives from C while B supplies the needs of C and in turn is given the girls from A. The Kachins<sup>42</sup> have a similar arrangement for five families or sections.

Thus there is evidence for the belief that at some time or another many groups now organised on a multiple section basis were organised on a dual basis.

Are there any facts, any customs or beliefs which may indicate, be it only obscurely, why it is believed necessary that a man of one section should marry a woman of another section as a condition precedent to the reincarnation of a deceased member of the group?

Firstly, there is the belief among the Bhotias<sup>43</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Naga Tribes p. 89.

<sup>40</sup> Lushai Kuki Clans 171.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Herty.—Kachin Language p. 140.

<sup>43</sup> Bengal C. R. 1911, 326.

who allow cousin marriage that it is not right to marry a cousin on the father's side for the reason that the bone descends from the father's side and the flesh from the mother's side. If cousins on the paternal side marry, the bone is pierced, resulting in various infirmities.

Among the Oraons<sup>44</sup> when a rumour is set about that some unusual misfortune has occurred to cattle, as that a cow has given birth to a pig, the men undertake the *rog-khedna* expedition. If the rumoured calamity refers to childbirth as for instance a human mother giving birth to monstrous human children, the women, specially the married women, start the *rog-khedna*. The better informed Oraon believes that such a monstrosity is born only when some Oraon woman has had sexual intercourse within forbidden degrees of relationship or with a man of another tribe. Such a breach of sexual tabu by an individual woman of the tribe is sure to be visited on the tribe as a whole unless such an expiatory expedition is undertaken. The Khasi belief is stated at p. 94 of *Gurdon's Khasis*.

I could get no definite information from Nagas as to the sanctions which underlay the rule of exogamy, and the reason is obvious. These are small communities where every body is known to every body else. No marriage, no funeral rites bearing approval of society could happen unless allowable by the rule. But abortion is often practised when a girl becomes pregnant by a man of her section<sup>45</sup>.

<sup>44</sup>Oraons, S. C. Roy. pp. 269-272.

<sup>45</sup>India Census Report, 1911, p. 243.

There are cases too where according to Brown<sup>46</sup> cases of peculiar presentation at birth were put to death.

Rose<sup>47</sup> remarks that superstition (as to unlucky children) to some extent familiarises the people with the practices of abortion and infanticide<sup>48</sup>.

Elsewhere<sup>49</sup> he tells us that the chief factor in the creation of new sections appears to be abnormal births or births under peculiar circumstances. What is true of the Punjab is not necessarily true of every other part of India. From the data we have, it is safe to conclude that in many cases abnormal births and births under peculiar circumstances have led and so still lead to the death of the unfortunate infant<sup>50</sup>.

Of the Tankhul Nagas it has been said<sup>51</sup> that the ideas about twins are about as numerous as the villages of the tribe. Some welcome them and others very much object to have such a woman among them. The latter look upon her as some lower animal who naturally gives birth to more than one. At Ukhrul the belief is that when the twins are both males the husband of the mother

<sup>46</sup> Account of Munnipore, p. 115.

Assam Census Report, 1881, p. 250.

<sup>47</sup> Punjab C. R., 1901, p. 215.

<sup>48</sup> Modegar, Mysore Bulletin No. XVii, p. 8. In case of leg or arm Presentation child is said to be killed by midwife.

<sup>49</sup> Punjab C. R., 1901, pp. 215 & 331.

<sup>50</sup> Davis. Assam Census Report, 1881, p. 250, states that illegitimate children are rare and it is impossible to resist the conclusion that they are made away with immediately after the birth and that abortion is procured before the birth of the child.

<sup>51</sup> Assam C. R., 1911, p. 77.

must be the descendant of some cannibalistic line like the tiger and ought to be carefully watched for any tendency towards a man-eating dispositon.

The same variety of belief is common among the other Naga Tribes in Manipur with whom I am acquainted. The Khasi belief is that twins are tabu ; and so twin children are not placed in the clan ossuary.

There is some material but it is not enough to enable me to formulate any precise ideas as to what lies behind the rules of exogamy. It may be that speculations as to the elements transmitted by parents to their offspring have contributed to the formation and spread of the belief in re-incarnation. These speculations cover a wide range and the permutations and combinations of ideas is almost unlimited since the lower culture attributes to dreams a measure of value little, if at all, less than that accorded to the impressions of the waking state<sup>52</sup>.

India is still *officina religionum*. There is vitality in both the lower and the higher culture. There is still a dual movement, a thrust upwards, a percolation downwards. It is a process which has been at work for ages.

In conclusion, I think I am justified in holding that the belief in re-incarnation, the belief that society is composed to a large extent of constantly recurring units, is intimately, even vitally, associated with birth and name-giving customs, with marriage rites and marriage rules, and with funeral rites and eschatological beliefs.

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<sup>52</sup>Hahn. *op cit.* 116 ; Naga Tribes, 129. aros 115.

## THE GARO AND KHASI MARRIAGE SYSTEMS CONTRASTED.

BY COL. T. C. HODSON, F. R. A. I.

In 1900, the Garos were found to number over 1,42,000.<sup>1</sup> There are thirteen groups of varying size. One group the AWE or ABAWE on the north which is of some size, perhaps 20,000 in number, has three main exogamous divisions<sup>2</sup> MOMIN, MARAK and SANGMA. The remaining twelve groups have only two such exogamous divisions, MARAK and SANGMA.<sup>3</sup> These exogamous divisions are called *katchis* and are further divided into *machongs* translated as 'motherhoods'. Major Playfair gives a list of the *machongs* in each exogamous division which does not appear to be complete, but it shows that there are roughly twice as many *machongs* in the MARAK and SANGMA *katchis* as there are in the MOMIN *katchi*,<sup>4</sup> that there are about as many *machongs* in the MARAK as in the SANGMA *katchi* and that one *katchi* in Momin appears in the Marak list with two *katchis* from Momin in the Sangma list. Marak and Sangma have three *katchis* in common.<sup>5</sup> Linguistic divergence may however obscure other identities in the names. That the *katchis* are not "yet really independent may be proved by asking a man belonging to

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<sup>1</sup>Linguistic Survey of India, Vol III., Pt. II., p. 69.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>The Garos, Major Playfair, p. 64.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid p. 155.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid p. 64.

one of these *katchis* whether he may marry a Marak, a Sangma or a Momin. A man of the Ebang *katchi*, for instance, will certainly say 'no' if asked if he may marry a Momin which proves that he really belongs to that clan". The governing principle is therefore the division into two main exogamous divisions, Marak and Sangma, a notable expression of the dual system which differs from the form of dual structure found elsewhere in that a large number of minor groups are in existence which, as will be seen, play a definite part in the marriage arrangements. In theory, we are told, that husband and wife must belong to different septs and motherhoods so that it is legitimate to regard the duality of the social structure as still full and complete as regards the majority of the Garos.<sup>6</sup>

Polygamy is allowed and there are definite rules as to the precedence of the wives.<sup>7</sup>

The Garo marriage system is interesting. Girls are free to choose their husbands and "propose" to the man of their choice with the exception which is the key to the system.<sup>8</sup> One daughter is given to the son of her father's sister, or if that cousin be not available, to a man of her father's *machoung* as a substitute. This man is styled the *nok-rom* or pillar of the house.<sup>9</sup> At the death of the father-in-law the *nok-rom* marries the widow "thus assuming the anomalous position of husband to both mother and daughter".

<sup>6</sup>Ibid p. 66.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid p. 69.

<sup>8</sup>Assam Census Report 1891, p. 229; Frazer, Folklore in the Old Testament, Vol. I. p. 464 Sq.; the Garos, p. 68.

<sup>9</sup>The Garos, p. 68.

The Assam Census Report of 1891 by Sir Edward Gait enables us to be more precise. "The husband of the youngest daughter has to marry his mother-in-law (who is often his own aunt) when she becomes a widow."<sup>10</sup> It is quite clear from these two passages that the custom is for the youngest daughter to marry the son of her father's sister.

Sir James Frazer quotes an earlier authority which confirms this reading of the Census authorities as elucidating an obscurity in Major Playfair's account.<sup>11</sup>

Since the Garos are on a dual basis, the proper husband for a man's sister is the brother of the man's wife. So that there is exchange of sisters.<sup>12</sup>

The Garo scheme is complete. If there be a cousin available, he is required to marry the youngest daughter, to live in his father-in-law's house and ultimately to marry the widow who is also his father's sister. If there be no cousin available, a man is selected called the *nokrom* or pillar of the house, who marries the daughter, lives in the house and has to marry the widow. Again, if there be neither a cousin nor a *nokrom*, the law of *Akim* obliges the motherhood to which the deceased man belonged to select a man of that motherhood to be the consort of the widow, for the sake of the interest of the motherhood which thus exercised a dual control over the property<sup>13</sup>. The common feature in the first two cases is that

<sup>10</sup> Assam Census Report, 1891, p. 229.

<sup>11</sup> Frazer, *loc. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> Assam Census Report, 1891, p. 229.

<sup>13</sup> Playfair, p. 68.

the husband of the daughter is the husband designate of the widow and the widow takes precedence over her daughter when she marries the nephew or *nokrom*. In the last case the marriage with the widow is accompanied by marriage with a young girl of the motherhood of the widow. It is the business of each moiety—acting through the motherhoods—to provide the other moiety with spouses<sup>14</sup>. The importance in Garo custom of the marriage with the widow as against the marriage with the daughter is clearly brought out by a case which Sir James Frazer has discussed. The actual text of the Assam Census<sup>15</sup> Report calls it “a case in which a man refused to marry the widow who was in this instance a second wife, and not his own wife’s mother ; and the old lady then gave herself and her own daughter in marriage to another man. In a dispute regarding the property which followed, the *Laskar* reports that the first man having failed to do his duty, the second was entitled to the greater part of the property”. I do not suppose that the recalcitrant and un-gallant son-in-law of the vivid prose of Sir James would have refused to do his duty if he had not imagined that he had a case. He may have imagined (I suspect that he did imagine) that his duty was to marry his wife’s mother and that his duty did not extend to marriage with a second wife who was not his wife’s mother. His marriage with the widow who had been a second wife would have reduced his own wife, the daughter

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<sup>14</sup>Frazer, *op cit* vol. ii p. 253.

<sup>15</sup>Assam Census Report, *loc. cit.*

of the senior wife, to the status of a second wife, a status which might be possible when the senior wife was the daughter's own mother but difficult when it was another woman. Nevertheless in the view of native authority, the marriage with the widow, though a second wife, was the main duty, the marriage with the widow's daughter following as a direct result. Thus taking this plain tale from the hills without embellishment or garniture, taking the social precedence accorded to the widow as senior wife in her nephew's house and taking the *akim* law into consideration, I find it impossible to refuse assent to the view that as the inheritance passes on the death of the husband, the brother of the mother of the young husband, it is as husband designate of the widow—his paternal aunt—that he marries the daughter. Major Playfair assures us that if a woman refuses to marry her nephew and marries another man, the nephew may claim compensation from both of them<sup>16</sup>. Marriage with the maternal uncle's widow is the pivot of the system.

Analysis of the collection in tabular form set forth of the terms of relationship as in the Assam Census Report for 1911 shows that the correspondences are found in conformity with this system of cousin marriage in a dual organisation<sup>17</sup>.

(I) The father's brother's wife (15)=mother's sister.

(II) Father's brother's child (17)=mother's sister's child.

<sup>16</sup>Playfair, p. 69.

<sup>17</sup>Gurdon, The Khasis, p. 62. Linguistic Survey of India vol. II p. 4.

- (III) Father's sister's husband (20)=mother's brother(32.)
- (IV) Wife's brother's child(21)=sister's child(29).  
also = daughter's husband(44).
- (V) Mother's brother(23)=father's sister's husband(20), also=wife's father.
- (VI) Mother's sister(28)=father's brother's wife.
- (VII) Daughter's husband(44)=wife's brother's child(21).
- (VIII) Wife's mother(45)=mother's brother's wife(25).

In reference to the compulsory marriage of the youngest daughter with the father's sister's son, I draw your attention to the correspondence which identifies the mother's brother with the husband of the father's sister and with the father of the wife. It is the combination in one and the same person of three relationships which follows from the dual constitution of Garo society and the working of cross-cousin marriage.

The inhabitants of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills are divided into five groups, according to geographical dispersion and language. The Khasis proper whose language is stated to be the language of nearly two thirds of the whole group, are the inhabitants of the central high plateau, Cherra and Nongstoin, Maha-ram, Mario, Nongkhlaw and the neighbouring Siemships or minor States. Marriages take place between the Khasi and their neighbours the Syntengs but it would "usually be considered derogatory for a Khasi of the Uplands to marry a Bhoi or War

woman and a disgrace to marry a Lynngam".<sup>18</sup> The main exogamous division is the KUR comprising the descendants of one ancestress KA IAWBEI TYNRAI. The sub-clan KPOH takes in all the descendants of one great grandmother, KA IAWBEI TYMMEN.<sup>19</sup> The iing or family which may mean the house contains the grandmother, her daughters and her daughter's children. The grand-mother is called KA IAWBEI KHYNNAW which Colonel Gurdon explains as meaning the young grandmother to distinguish her from the other two grandmothers referred to.

Some of the clans have names of animals which seem to indicate a totemistic origin.<sup>20</sup>

There is a very considerable political organisation among the Khasis who in this respect are ahead of their neighbours the Garos.

The Khasis are monogamous, but divorce is easy.<sup>21</sup>

The Khasis speak a language which belongs to the Mon Khmer sub-group of the Austro Asiatic branch of the Austric family of languages. The other members of the Mon Khmer sub-group are (i) Mon or Talaing spoken in Lower Burma (ii) Wa and Palaung in Upper Burma, (iii) Khmer spoken in Cambodia. In India, the Munda languages, traces of which have been found in the complex pronominalized dialects of Tibeto-Burman speech in the Himalayas and in certain Bihari forms, constitute a

<sup>18</sup>Gurdon, p. 63.

<sup>19</sup>Gurdon, p. 63.

<sup>20</sup>Gurdon, p. 65.

<sup>21</sup>Gurdon, p. 77. p. 79.

group associated with Nicobarese, Semang, and Sakei. The Austronesian branch comprises the languages of Indonesia, Melanesia and Polynesia<sup>22</sup>.

The Khasis therefore speak a language which belongs to a totally distinct family of languages as widely distinct from Garo as Chinese is from English.

There are five or six dialects of Khasi, four of which were dealt with in the Linguistic Survey Report.<sup>23</sup> Their common characteristics are (i) monosyllabic basis, (ii) definite order, subject-verb-object which differs from that of the Munda languages where it is subject-object-verb, (iii) definite relative form, (iv) the possession of a device by which the verbal root, a true verbal root, is converted into a semi-abstract, thus effecting a great advance in power of thought and expression. As an indicative of their mental capacity, this feature demands all the emphasis that I can lay upon it.

Under the Khasi system, which is strictly matrilineal, a man may not marry a woman of the same clan as himself<sup>24</sup>. Where clans are connected, so as to preserve the memory of a common origin, intermarriage is not allowed. These general rules are re-inforced by the following prohibitions :<sup>25</sup>

- (A) A Khasi cannot marry his maternal uncle's daughter during the life-time of the maternal uncle.

<sup>22</sup>Census of India, Report 1911, vol. I, p. 322, 324.

<sup>23</sup>Linguistic Survey Report, vol. II, pp. 459

<sup>24</sup>Gurdon, p. 77.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid p. 78.

- (B) Marriage with the daughter of a father's sister is not allowed during the life-time of the father. These marriages are not viewed with favour, though there is no religious ban.
- (C) A Khasi cannot marry the daughter of his father's brother. She is his *para kha*. (lit., his birth sister.)
- (D) Similarly he cannot marry the daughter of his father's paternal uncle.
- (E) There is no custom amongst the Khasis of two men exchanging daughters.

Thus there are two absolute prohibitions and two conditional prohibitions. If we state these prohibitions from the woman's side as well as from the man's side as in dealing with a matrilineal society we ought to do, we get the four rules which may be stated thus :—

- (A) A woman cannot marry her father's sister's son during the lifetime of her father.
- (B) A woman cannot marry the son of her mother's brother during the lifetime of her mother's brother.
- (C) A woman cannot marry the son of her father's brother as they are closely related.
- (D) A woman cannot marry the son of her father's brother's son.

Distinction is drawn between marriage with the son of the father's sister and marriage with the son of the mother's brother, the latter being viewed with disfavour though not forbidden on 'religious' grounds.

An analysis of the tabular statement of the terms of the relationship in the Assam Census Report discloses the following correspondences (among others) which it may be at once noted are found among the Khasis but not among the Syntengs who claim to have preserved the Khasi system in its pristine purity.<sup>26</sup>

- (I) Mother's brother(23)=father's sister's husband(20)
- (II) Father's brother(13)=mother's sister's husband(30)
- (III) Father's brother's wife(15)=mother's sister(28)
- (IV) Daughter's husband(44)=wife's brother's child(21)

It will be remarked that the correspondence between the father-in-law and the father's sister's husband and the maternal uncle which is prominent in the Garo list (No. V) is conspicuously absent from the Khasi list.

The term: *para kha* is translated by Col. Gurdon as "little sister". To ascertain its precise significance I referred to the Khasi dictionary by U. Nissor Singh, an educated Khasi, who was assisted by Colonel Gurdon, our main authority on the Khasis. It is a term of extraordinary interest. In order to be precise, I will give in full the explanation given of it as well as of associated terms so that we can compare the meanings of its elements in other compounds and thus arrive at a fair understanding of the force both of this phrase and of its elements in regard to marriage rules.

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<sup>26</sup> Assam Census Report, 1911, p. 86.

**PARA** = younger brother or younger sister.

Para (as *prefix*)=one associated in common interest, occupation etc. with another, as in the words *Para Khasi*, *para-nongshún*, *para-mrád para-khyrnáw*, etc.

**Para-ba-ch**=of equal strength, resources, *etc.*, to be matched with an opponent.

**Para-briew**=having no relationship either by blood or by marriage ; a fellow man.

**Para kha-(shi,)**=a relationship between children of brothers.

**Para-kher-paramer**=a neighbour.

**Para ksiew**=a grand-nephew or niece on the mother's side.

**KHA** (v) to give birth to ; (noun)=a relation on the father's side.

**Khmie kha**=the paternal grandmother.

**Kpa kha**=paternal grandfather.

**Knia kha**=father's sister.

By this analysis *para kha* means relationship on the male side according to the authors of the dictionary of whom Colonel Gurdon our main authority on the Khasis was one. That the Khasis should have so precise a term as **KHA** for male relations is proof of the formal recognition of male kinship.

The dictionary makes clear the situation and confirms, so far as it goes, the correspondences indicated by the tabular statement in the Census Report.

The father is called **KPA**. His elder brother is called **KPA SAN**, the younger paternal uncle is called **KPA NAH**. The mother is called **KMIE**. Her elder sister is called **KMIE SAN**. Her

younger sister is called KMIE NAH. The wife of the father's brother is called KYMI, a variant of KMIE ; and the elder and younger are distinguished as SAN and NAH, age suffixes. The mother's brother is called KNI. The dictionary calls his wife KNIA or SYNGKEN. The father's sister is called KNIA KHA. It will have to be explained why it is now necessary to emphasise her male kinship. The child of the mother's brother is called KHA or БАКХА and these terms are used to designate the child of the father's sister. Men and women speak of their sister's son as U PYRSA and the daughter's husband is called U PYRSA KURIM by his father-in-law. KURIM is used as a term for the wife. The wife's sister and the husband's younger brother are called PARA KYNSI and the term KYNSI appears in the phrase DEI-KYNSI as applied to those brothers and sisters-in-law who are allowed to marry just as DEI-KHA are relations on the male side who can marry. A woman calls her husband's father U KTHAW KURIM and in addition to the term KPA KHA for the paternal grandfather there is a second term KTHAW. One term distinguished by six prefixes (U, male and Ka, female) is used for brother and sister : HYMMEN=elder and HYNBEW=younger. As secondary terms are also found, KONG for the elder brother and HEP (U or Ka) PARA for the younger sister HEP also is used in the term for the maternal grandfather KPA HEP to which there is a double—PARAD. The suffix RAD is in the term for the

maternal grandmother : KHMEI RAD (also KHMEI HEP). The term SYNGKEN in the term for the wife of the mother's brother is found in the term Syngken KURIM = wife's mother.

The points to be explained are—

- (1) Why a Khasi woman cannot marry the son of her father's brother and why they are considered closely related.
- (2) Why a Khasi woman may not marry the son of the son of her father's brother.
- (3) Why a Khasi woman may not marry the son of her father's sister until her father be dead.
- (4) Why a Khasi woman may not marry the son of her mother's brother until her mother's brother be dead, and why this marriage is looked on with disfavour though not under a religious ban.
- (5) Why the father's brothers are called elder or younger fathers according to their age in relation to the father.
- (6) Why the mother's sisters are called elder or younger mothers according to their age in relation to the mother.
- (7) Why the children of the mother's brother are called by the same term as the children of the father's sister.
- (8) Why the father's sister is called by a term similar to but distinguished from that used for the wife of the mother's brother.
- (9) Why there are two terms in use in many cases.

(10) Why the mother's brother is described by the term used for the husband of the father's sister but is not called by the term for wife's father or father-in-law.

The two conditional prohibitions—nos. 3 and 4—may perhaps be variants of one and the same rule. Is this rule, are these prohibitions which I prefer to separate, due to a nascent recognition of male kinship? We know that the Khasi father "in his wife's clan is second to none but the maternal uncle and, in his own family circle, a father and husband is nearer to his children than the maternal uncle".<sup>27</sup>

This view seems to be supported by the absolute prohibition of the marriage with the son of the father's brother. The relationship terms have a correspondence between the father's brother's wife—KA KMIE—and the mother's sister. If or when social conditions made it usual or necessary for two brothers to marry two sisters, their children could not marry as they would be of the same clan whether descent be counted patrilineally or matrilineally. In present conditions Khasi society is organised on a multiple basis. There are many clans from which a wife can be obtained. There is now no social necessity for two brothers marrying two sisters and I can find no evidence that this is or has been usual.

The prohibition which absolutely forbids the marriage of a man with the daughter of his father's paternal uncle may be the key to the difficulty. The woman in question belongs to the

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<sup>27</sup>Gurdon, p. 79.

generation above that of the man. She belongs to his father's generation and is in fact *pura kha* to the man's father. If male kinship counts, a woman who is forbidden to the father would also be forbidden to the son.

Thus there are indications of the recognition of male kinship in (1) the definite term for male relatives, (2) the rule forbidding marriage with the father's brother's son, (3) the rule forbidding marriage with the son of the father's brother's son, (4) the high position of the father in the Khasi family, and (5) the Khasi custom which allows a man to set up a house with his wife, separate from that of her mother.

But before we conclude that these rules and prohibitions, these correspondences in the terms of relationship, are due exclusively to the recognition of male kinship, I put to you the hypothesis that the state of things we now find is the result of the evolution of Khasi society from a constitution on a dual basis, similar to that of the Garos to a multiple basis, and that in the course of that development male kinship came to a degree of importance which will account for the prominence of special terms for male relations in the Khasi scheme of classification.

I will take my ten points in order and explain how they fit in with the hypothesis I put to you.

In a dual society the children of two brothers are necessarily so closely related as to be unable to marry. This prohibition takes us straight to the dual days. It survives because—if it does not

directly promotes—it does not impede the great social necessity which arises when a multiple society develops from a dual society the necessity for giving wives to and getting wives from the new groups. The children of two brothers are called *para kha* because they are kins on the male side. In the dual days they were also kins on the mother's side.

To understand why a Khasi woman may not marry the son of the son of her father's brother—or as Colonel Gurdon puts the rule—why a Khasi man cannot marry the daughter of his father's paternal uncle, we must realise that she is *para kha* to the man's father, she would be reckoned as the father's sister. Now in a dual society she belongs to the same moiety as the man's father, and therefore to the moiety opposite to that of the man. Her marriage may be forbidden as I have already observed in extension of the bar with the marriage with the man's father. It may be forbidden because she belongs to the generation above that of the man. Whose wife would she be under a dual system? She would be the wife of the man's father's brother, and she would be the mother of the girl cousin whom the man would normally marry. She would be the widow who must marry her nephew son-in-law by Garo custom on the death of her husband. The marriage which Garo custom prescribes is prescribed by Khasi custom. It will be remembered that the inheritance passes on the death of the husband by Garo custom while the succession of the youngest daughter by

Khasi custom does not accrue till the death of the mother. Further, while Garo custom fastens on the widow a liability for remarriage with an *akim* husband or with the *nokrom* or with the nephew son-in-law, Khasi custom places the widow under a tabu for a year which makes it difficult for her to remarry within that time, and Khasi custom also enables a widow to escape re-marriage altogether if she so wish by keeping her husband's bones. The restoration of the late husband's bones to the ossuary of his clan sets her free to remarry. The main social effect of the death of the husband is to enable his daughter to marry the son of her paternal aunt. In Garo custom the widow is the vehicle of the succession. In Khasi custom the youngest daughter, the one most likely to be unwed at the time of her father's death, is the vehicle of the succession.

Thus Khasi custom definitely forbids a marriage which is the pivot of the Garo system, which rests on the maintenance of the dual interest in the estate. This dual control would obviously be difficult to maintain against the pressure of competing groups which results from the development from a dual basis to a multiple basis. Therefore it was to the interest of the new elements that a marriage which maintained and was maintained by the dual system should be forbidden. I say therefore,—*Is fecit cui prodest.*

I now turn to the two conditional prohibitions. They exhibit a distinction—slight perhaps but nevertheless important—between the marriage with the son of the father's sister and the marriage with the son of the mother's brother. The latter is viewed

with disfavour. It will be evident that this distinction can only be drawn when the dual system had ceased to operate, since, so long as it flourished the wife of the mother's brother would be the father's sister. When the dual system breaks up, these two persons are enabled to marry into other clans. The woman becomes free to marry a man of a clan other than that of her father. The man becomes free to marry a woman of a clan other than that of his father. The prohibitions are two, not one, and date from the break-up of the dual order.

The distinction drawn between the marriages with the two cousins has to be explained. As we have seen, the youngest daughter succeeds on the death of her mother. That event does not set the daughter free from either of the prohibitions so that if at the time of her mother's death her father and her mother's brother be both alive, she cannot marry either of her cousins. If at the time of her mother's death, her father be dead but her maternal uncle be alive, she may marry the son of her father's sister but she cannot marry the son of her maternal uncle. If at the time of her mother's death, her father and her maternal uncle be both dead, she may marry either cousin. The maternal uncle stands for the mother's clan, the father stands for the family. The maternal uncle is forbidden to use the influence of his position to bring about the marriage of the niece with his son. The break up of the dual order was in my view the cause as well as the occasion of a loosening of the influence of the clan, of the strengthening of the family so that at this point definitions

became possible as between the two cousins, so that it became necessary to draw definitions between the two sets of kin, the clan kin and the family kin. The dominance of the maternal uncle was restricted in the interests of the new order. Male kinship comes in as a factor. Both these prohibitions facilitate, may be intended to facilitate and may survive because they facilitate marriages with men of clans other than those of the two to which the parents belong. These rules are essential to the successful working of the new order, on the multiple basis. Again I say, *Is fecit cui prodest.*

As to points 5-6-7, in a dual society the brothers of the father marry women who are, or are reckoned as, sisters of the father's wife. The seniority classification follows the familiar rule that elders marry before youngers, contracting individual marriages.

As to the term used for the father's sister and the distinction drawn between her and the wife of the mother's brother, you will recollect that the father's sister is called KA KNIA KHA or KA KIAW. The wife of the mother's brother is called KA KNIA or KA SYNGKEN. KA KNIA is the wife of U KNI, and on philological grounds we may suspect that KNIA is a feminine form of KNI. If this be the case, we have a method of forming feminines in Khasi which departs from the general rule by which such distinctions are effectively made by the use of suffixes. The term KIAW reappears in the phrase KA KIAW KURIM which means the mother of the wife. The term SYNGKEN forms part of the

second term for the wife's mother KA SYNGKEN KURIM. The wife is sometimes called KA KURIM. Thus the father's sister is associated with the status of wife to the mother's brother while her male kinship is precisely defined by the addition of the suffix KHA. It is possible that KA SYNGKEN may originally have meant the wife of the mother's brother in those cases where the mother's brother did not marry his cousin KA KNIA KHA. In those cases where the father's sister is the mother-in-law, the term KA KIAW becomes appropriate as regards the mother-in-law relationship. There are thus signs of two systems of nomenclature to meet the different cases where (1) the cousin marriage still took place and (2) where outsiders were taken as consorts.

The combination in one and the same person of the three relationships of (1) mother's brother (2) husband of the father's sister and (3) father-in-law is one of the critical combinations present in Garo and absent in Khasi. I explain its absence in Khasi as the result of the rule which makes marriage with the son of the mother's brother impossible during the lifetime of the mother's brother. The mother's brother may be at one and the same time the husband of the sister of the girl's father but by the working of this rule he cannot be the father of her husband. But her mother may combine the three relationships of (1) wife of the mother's brother (2) father's sister, and (3) mother-in-law, since the prohibition is valid only during the lifetime of her husband.

It will be noted that we have two sets of male kin, the PARA KHA who may not marry and the DEI KHA who are allowed to marry.

What caused the break-up of the dual society? The process by which with the Garos the dual structure is still preserved may not have been possible with the Khasis among whom in the cases of the States of NONGPSUNG, NOBOSOHPOH, LANGRIN and MAHARAM there are still two chiefly families—the White Siem family and the Black Siem family.<sup>28</sup> There may have been contact with a society on a multiple basis like the Syntengs who claim to have kept the original system more thoroughly than the Khasis.

I know that in using Garo customs as a basis of comparison with those of the Khasis I expose myself to the charge that I am not entitled to compare the institutions of two peoples between whom there are so many and such far-reaching differences. Alone among the Tibeto-Burman-speaking peoples the Garos have preserved a dual system on a matrilineal plan. The Khasis are isolated from their neighbours in speech. The hypothesis I have put to you may eventually be found to have some bearing on the question of the origin of the Khasis, their relations with the Garos on the west, with the Syntengs, Kacharis and Nagas on the east, as well as with their linguistic congeners in S. W. Bengal and in Burma and Cambodia. It may help us to understand their place in the general scheme of Indian culture. I am not ready with definite views on these difficult

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<sup>28</sup>Gurdon, p. 73. 74.

subjects because I realise—none better—that I have lifted only a small corner of the veil, that I have scratched into only one fold of the palimpsest. I have tried to make the Khasis explain themselves and to find social harmonies between institutions and linguistic forms. The conditions of Khasi society to-day provide me with reasons why features of a distant past have been preserved and why side by side with those survivals we find proof of the newer order and of its development from the earlier stage which I think was very similar to what still holds good among the Garos.

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## FOLKLORE AND THE FOLKLORE SOCIETY.

By D. H. MOUTRAY READ AND THE EDITOR.

One of the most fascinating branches of Anthropological study is Folklore. The name Folk-lore, that is to say, the lore or learning of the people, was formed in 1846 by Mr. Thoms<sup>1</sup> to replace the current and less definite expression "popular antiquities." It has established itself in the language as the generic term under which are comprehended the traditional beliefs, customs, stories, songs, and sayings of backward peoples, as well as those to be found among the uncultured classes of more advanced civilisations. It comprises early and barbaric beliefs about the world of Nature, animate and inanimate ; about a spirit-world and man's relation with it; about human nature and things made by man ; about witchcraft, spells, charms, amulets, luck, and omens. It is concerned with all customs and rites surrounding the three great events of life—birth, marriage and death—the *Rites de passage*, to use Van Gennep's phrase, continuing through childhood and adult life. Regulations in respect of social organisations ; ceremonies public and domestic ; laws and procedure of inheritance ; therapeutics, pharmacy and divination fall within its scope equally with fast, ferial and festival. Warfare, hunting, fishing, cattle-keeping, and all

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<sup>1</sup>Mr. William John Thoms, the well-known antiquary and the founder of *Notes and Queries* first introduced the word 'folklore' in a letter which appeared in the *Atheneum* of the 22nd August, 1846.

other cultural activities provide the folklorist with objects of study; whilst it is almost unnecessary to add that myths, legends, folk-tales, ballads, songs, proverbs, riddles, games and nursery rhymes are included in folklore collectanea.

The science of folklore therefore covers everything which makes part of the mental equipment of the folk as distinguished from their technical skill. It is not the form of the plough which excites the attention of the folklorist, but the rites practised by the ploughman when putting it into the soil; not the make of the net or the harpoon, but the tabus observed by the fisherman; not the architecture of the bridge or the dwelling, but the sacrifice which accompanied its erection.

Folklore, in fact, is the pragmatic expression of the psychology of man, whether in the fields of philosophy, religion, science, and medicine, in social organisation and ceremonial, or in the more strictly intellectual regions of unwritten history, poetry, and literature. Thus it will be seen that the subjects dealt with by the folklore students are very wide in range and of vast importance in elucidating the history of the human race. To promote this study by the comparative method is the guiding principle of all folklorists and Folklore Societies.

Thus, the object of the Folklore Society of London, established in 1878 by the late Sir Lawrence Gomme and Mr. W. J. Thoms with whom were early associated Mr. Andrew Lang, Professor E. B. Tylor, Miss C. S. Burne and Mr. Edward Clodd, was stated to be to collect, record, and study "the

fast-perishin relics of folk-lore". Since its inception the scope of the Society has very considerably widened.

The expression "fast-perishing folklore", though almost a shibboleth of folklorists, is apt to be misleading. It is true that folk customs, folk beliefs, folk sayings perish daily, for, in the nature of things, they lack the essential qualities that make for permanence. It would be more precise to say they are mutable. The form changes, the methods pass, even the idea fades to nothingness, but all are succeeded by customs, beliefs, sayings that, in another century equally "fast-perishing" with those of to-day, will be the evanishing objects of study to our successors. Present workers are handicapped by the incompleteness of record and lack of scientific arrangement in the work of their predecessors. It is for us to see that nothing is left undone that can be put in hand by ourselves to facilitate and perfect the work of those who follow.

It is obvious that the work of a folklore society cannot develop without workers, doing their part in the in-gathering of the wealth of material as yet unharvested, whether it be in the British Isles, in India, and other parts of the British Empire or among peoples outside the Empire. In Western countries native workers are now busy in the collection of their own folk-lore. The Spanish Society *El Folk-Lore Andaluz* was founded in 1882; the French *Société des Traditions populaires* was founded in 1885, and an additional Society, the *Société des Traditionnistes*, in 1886; the *American Folk-Lore*

*Society* in 1888 ; the German *Verein für Volkskunde* in 1890 ; the *Société du Folklore Wallon* in 1891 ; the Swiss *Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde* in 1896 ; the *Hessische Vereinigung für Volkskunde* in 1901 ; the Lemberg Society in 1904 ; and the Greek Folk-Lore Society in 1909. There are also Finnish, Hungarian, Estonian, and other Societies. No one who has opportunities of knowing the folk in his own neighbourhood, should be deterred from recording the lore gathered from them by the fear that his information may be worthless. What is an every-day occurrence, seemingly of no import, in one's own neighbourhood, may be a revelation to the student seeking for links to complete his investigations. Should the same item have been already noted elsewhere, the addition of a previously unrecorded *habitat* will have a definite value when accompanied by particulars of the date when the custom was observed, the occasion on which the belief or idea was revealed, or the person by whom the story was related.

So far as the systematic collection of the folklore of India is concerned, "Man in India" and a few other journals may be expected to take up part of the work. Societies like the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, the Anthropological Society of Bombay, the Mythic Society of Bangalore, the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, and the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have already interested themselves, more or less, in such work. And similar other Societies are expected to spring up in the country before long. Such Societies in India cannot have before them a better model than the Folklore

Society of London. For the benefit of such societies a short account of the Folklore Society is given below. The Society holds eight meetings in the year, between the months of November and June, when papers are read and discussed, notes are communicated and objects exhibited.

In addition to the meetings, the Society publishes a Quarterly Journal, *Folklore*, which, besides the majority of the papers read at meetings, contains papers on points of interest, records of the folklore of given areas and districts, short notes and communications from members, correspondence, and reviews of English and foreign books on folklore and cognate subjects. Further, until the war necessitated a limitation of the Society's activities, no year had elapsed since the foundation of the Society without the appearance of an extra volume dealing more at length with the subjects in question than could be possible in the limits of an article. Among works which have thus appeared under the Society's auspices may be mentioned Bishop Callaway's *Religion of the Amazulu*, Miss M. A. Owen's monograph on the *Musquakie Indians*, Mr. R. E. Dennett's *Folk-Lore of the Fjort*, Miss M. Roalfe Cox's collection of 345 variants of *Cinderella*, editions of Aubrey's *Remaines*, Henderson's *Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties*, and the *Denham Tracts*; also seven volumes of the "County Folklore" series, in which numberless items folklorically interesting are rescued from the pages of county histories, dissertations of old antiquaries, or reports of local archaeological associations, and are classified upon a definite plan by counties, thus (when the series is

completed) laying the foundation of a future monumental work on the folklore of the British Isles.

The Folklore Society further aims at the establishment of a real 'Folk Museum', of which the nucleus has already been formed with a number of folklore specimens including Mexican objects presented by Professor Starr, and Musquakie objects presented by Miss M. A. Owen, and at present placed on loan at the Museum of Archæology and Ethnology at Cambridge. India affords a wide field for the collection of such specimens, but unfortunately no Museum in India appears to have yet given particular attention to them.

Again, Indian students of folklore would do well to take particular note of an important work which the London Folklore Society has now in hand, namely, the compilation of a new and enlarged edition of Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, as a step towards the systematic collection of the folklore of the British Isles. The production of a similar work for India will be a valuable achievement. This will inevitably necessitate much devoted labour, and need the assistance both of library students to read and extract notices of such customs in the works of previous authors, and of local investigators to ascertain whether the customs in question are still observed, and, if not, when and possibly why they fell out of use. Such a work, when published, should be of immense assistance to the historian, and the geographical distribution of culture discovered by records of *habitat* should throw valuable sidelights on many cultural problems.

Besides articles from the pen of experts often published in the Folklore Society's Journal which may serve as models of method for Indian students of the science, there have appeared from time to time in the pages of that journal interesting articles on Indian folklore, many of which are from the pen of experts and are of great scientific value. Among notes and articles on Indian folklore that have appeared in that journal the following may be mentioned. In 1882, Mr. (afterwards Sir Richard) Temple contributed some "Indian Agricultural Folklore Notes"; in 1883, Prof. A. Lang contributed an article on "Anthropology and the Vedas", C. Synnerton published "Four Legends of King Rasalu (from Peshawar)", Temple contributed "Some Punjabi and other Proverbs" and H. Rivett Carnac contributed some "Folklore Notes from India"; in 1884, and, again, in 1885, R. Morris contributed an article on "Folktales of India"; in 1885, Temple published "Some North Indian Proverbs"; in 1894, F. Fawcett contributed an article on the "Early Races of South India"; in 1898, Major McNair and T. L. Barlow wrote about the "Customs and Ceremonies observed at a Betrothal and Wedding in the Punjab"; in 1899, Temple contributed a paper on "Folklore in the Legends of the Punjab"; in 1900, Crooke contributed an article on "The Legends of Krishna"; in 1904 Dr. Rivers wrote on "Toda Prayer"; in 1909, Colonel Hodson wrote a paper on "Head-hunting among the Hill Tribes of Assam" and J. Shakespeare contributed "Some Folktales of the Lushais and their Neighbours"; in 1910, Col. T.C.

Hodson described some "Naga customs and Superstitions", and C. S. Burne wrote on "Occult powers of Healing in the Punjab"; in 1911, A. J. O'Brien contributed a paper on "Some Matrimonial Problems of the Western Border of India"; in 1912, Crooke in his Presidential Address spoke about "The Veneration of the Cow in India", and the same number of the journal contained an article by F. Fawcett on "Odikal and other Customs of the Muppans" and another article by Holdsen on "Meithei Literature"; in 1913, Shakespeare contributed an article on "The Religion of Manipur"; and in 1918, Crooke contributed two articles on "The House in India from the point of view of Sociology and Folklore".

It cannot fail to be of great assistance to Indian students of folklore if they bring themselves in closer touch with such a Society as the Folklore Society of London through a more active co-operation with its aims and ambitions and by enlisting themselves as members of the Society. The contents of the Society's journal have, as we have seen, sometimes a direct interest for Indian folklorists, and whether dealing with Indian or foreign folklore, the articles of that journal, as we have said, may in most instances serve as models of method for Indian workers.\*

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\*The attention of Indian readers is drawn to the 'Notice' regarding the Folklore Society published at the end of this number.

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## MISCELLANEA.

### CASTE IN FOLKLORE.

BY THE EDITOR.

Savage and semi-savage tribes, as much as civilized peoples, are wont to form their own estimates of the character and mentality of their neighbours of other races, tribes and castes. Whereas civilized man describes his impressions about his neighbours of other ethnic groups in written accounts and abstract terms, uncivilized and unlettered communities generally embody their impressions in concrete forms in folktales handed down from generation to generation. Folktales of this class current among the different aboriginal tribes of India are not without their interest for the student of Anthropology, and in the present paper I shall give a few specimens of such folktales that I heard among the Hos of the Kolhan (Singbhumi) in Chota Nagpur. Readers of this Journal coming across similar folktales among other tribes or castes in India are requested to kindly communicate them to me for publication in this Journal.

The semi-aboriginal weaver caste of Panrs forms an important constituent of a Ho village community. In many, if not all, Ho villages there may be seen one or more Panr families who weave and supply the scanty clothing of the Hos. Those who know both the communities will agree that the Ho may claim some justification in considering himself superior to the Panr not only in social status but in intelligence as well. In the following folktales we find the Ho

giving in a concrete and obviously exaggerated from his impressions of the comparative stupidity of his Panrs neighbours.

(1) *The Panrs' Mosquito Hunt.*

Once there dwelt in a certain village five or six families of Panrs. When the rains came on, and mosquitoes began to pester the people, the Panrs of the village put their heads together to devise means for ridding their houses of the mosquito nuisance. They deliberated for hours but could not think of any suitable means. At length one of them exclaimed, "I have got it! I have got it! I have hit upon the surest way of killing the mosquito." "What is it? What is it?" cried his companions all in one voice. "Why! Let us shoot all the mosquitoes down with our bows and arrows," replied this sage among the Panrs. "Just so, just so", cried all his admiring companions. And they all went in a body with their bows and arrows to the *bari* (compound) of one of their huts, which was planted with maize plants and was therefore particularly infested with mosquitoes. On their way, it was agreed that they should not talk above a whisper so that the mosquitoes might not take fright and fly away; when any of them spied a mosquito, he was to draw the attention of his companions to it by whistling with his lips. As soon as the party entered the maize-garden, a mosquito sat on the back of one of the men. And the latter made the appointed signal by whistling and pointed with his finger to his own back. Forthwith one of his compa-

nions aimed his arrow at the mosquito, and straight the arrow went through the body of the unfortunate Panr and made an end of him.

(2) *A Panr and a Chameleon.*

A Panr was going from his own village to another with a bundle of new clothes for sale. On the way he saw a chameleon shaking its head up and down. The Panr thought that the chameleon was preparing to attack him, got frightened and asked, "Do you wish to devour me or my clothes?" The chameleon continued shaking its head as before. And the Panr again questioned it, "Will you eat my clothes?" The chameleon shook his head as before. To make sure of the intention of the chameleon, the weaver again asked, "Do you wish to devour me?" And the chameleon continued nodding his head. The poor Panr thought that the chameleon wanted to eat him up as well as his clothes, and in a fright he threw down his bundle of clothes and ran back to his village to save his life.

(3) *The Panr and the Piaj-roti.*

A Panr once went on a visit to his father-in-law's place. At dinner he was served with a dish the like of which he never tasted before. And he asked his mother-in-law what it was made of. The mother-in-law told him it was *Piaj-roti*. So the man thought within himself that on his return home he would ask his wife to prepare a dish of *Piaj-roti* for him. Lying down on his bed, he went on muttering to himself the name "*Piaj-roti*", times without number, so as to fix the name indelibly in

his memory. But alas ! the next morning on getting up from his bed, he found that the name had eluded his memory. So he went to his mother-in-law and inquired of her again : "O mother ! what was that delicious dish you gave me yesterday made of ? Alas ! The name has slipped off my memory." "Piaj-roti," said she. And the son-in-law took leave of her after a while and started for his home repeating the name "Piaj-roti" to himself all the way. His mind was so full of "Piaj-roti" that he missed his way and suddenly found himself plunged knee-deep in a muddy place. And the name 'Piaj-roti' again escaped his memory. The poor Panr thought to himself that the name must have been lost in that mud, and so he began to search for the name in the mud. After he had done so in vain for some time, his strange manner attracted the notice of a passer-by. And the latter came and asked him what he was doing in the mud. The Panr said, "Alas ! Alas ! I have lost a valuable thing in this mud." The traveller could not conceive that the Panr's 'valuable thing' was merely a name. He thought that the man must have lost some money or some valuable article ; and as he felt pity for the weaver, he tucked up his clothes and went to the place to assist the weaver in his search. As he took his place by the side of the weaver and joined in the search, he found the latter smelling strongly of 'Piaj-roti' and exclaimed, "Ah ! you have eaten too much Piaj-roti, it seems." As soon as the Panr heard the name 'Piaj-roti,' he rushed out of the mud for joy exclaiming, "Piaj-roti ! Piaj-roti ! I have got it ! I have

got it!" His generous companion was not a little surprised and annoyed at this conduct, and began to tax the weaver with having played a practical joke on him. But the Panr took no notice of his words, but hastened home muttering to himself "Piaj-roti, Piaj-roti."

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## SOME MALAYALAM KINSHIP TERMS.

By K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY.

In his "Kinship and Social Organisation" (1) Dr. Rivers has shown how the Telugu, Tamil and Canarese terms of kinship fit in with certain features of the social structure of the people speaking these languages. He also mentions the regretable absence of any complete record of the kinship terms in Malayalam—the fourth chief language of South India.

So far as I am aware this deficiency has not yet been removed. Through the courtesy of some Nayar friends of mine, at Cambridge and Oxford, I have been able to collect a record, although still incomplete and in part conflicting, of these kinship terms. I append them below, placing the terms obtained from different informants side by side for comparison in case of difference.

### *Malayam Terms*

<i>English Equivalent.</i>	(1)	(2)	(3)
Father.	Achchan.	Ditto.	Ditto.
Father's Elder Brother.	Valya Achchan.	Ditto.	Muta Achchan.
Father's Younger Brother.	Kocha Achchan.	Chaoia Achchan.	Elai Achchan.
Mother's Brother.	Amma wen.	Amma wan.	Amma wan.
Father's sister's husband.	"	—	—
Mother's Elder Sister's Husband.	Valya Achchan.	Ditto	Mut Achchan.
Mother's Younger Sister's Husband.	Kocha Achchan.	Charia Achchan.	Elai Achchan.
Wife's Father.	Amma wen.	Achchan.	—

(1) Page 47, *et seq.* London, 1914, (Constable and Co.)

<i>English Equivalent.</i> (1)		<i>Malayam Terms</i>	
		(2)	(3)
Husband's			
Father.			
Mother.	Amma.	Ditto.	Ditto.
Mother's Elder Sister.	Valyamma.	Ditto.	Mubamma.
Mother's younger Sister.	Kcchamma.	Chariamma.	Elaiamma.
Father's Elder Brother's Wife.	Valyamma.	Ditto.	Mutamma.
Father's younger Brother's Wife.	Kochamma.	Chariamma.	Elaiamma.
Mother's Brother's Wife.	Amma wi.	Ditto.	Ditto.
Father's Sister.	"	Ditto.	Ditto.
Wife's mother.	Amma.	Ditto.	Ditto.
Husband's Mother.			
Father's Father.	Apupan.	Ditto.	Ditto.
Mother's Father.	"	Ditto.	Ditto.
Mother's Mother.	Amuma.	Ditto.	Ditto.
Father's Mother	"	Ditto.	Ditto.
Elder Brother (1)	Jesthan.	Ditto.	Ditto.
Younger Brother (1)	Anijan.	Ditto.	Ditto.
Father's Brother's Son.	—(2)	—(2)	
Mother's Brother's Son.	Machchin wen.	—(2)	
Father's Sister's Son.	—	—	—
Husband's Brother.	—	—	—
Wife's Brother.	(2)	(2)	—
Sister's Husband.	Machchin wen.	—	—
Husband.	—	—	Bhartan.
Elder Sister (1)	Jesthati.	—	Ditto.
Younger Sister (1)	Anijati.	—	Ditto.
Mother's Brother's Daughter	—	—	—
Father's Sister's Daughter.	—	—	—
Elder Brother's Wife.	Jesthati or Chattati.	Ditto	—

(1) The children of sisters belong to the same *tarawad* and are brothers and sisters.

(2) If elder, the word *chattan* is added to the name.

<i>English Equivalent.</i>	<i>Malayalam. Terms.</i>	(1)	(2)	(3)
Younger Brother's Wife.		—	—	—
Wife's Sister.	—(4)	—	—	—
Wife.	Bharya <sup>1</sup>	—	—	—
Husband's Sister.	Natun <sup>2</sup>	—	—	—
Son.	Makan.	—	—	—
Sister's Son.	Anantirawan.	Ditto. <sup>3</sup>	Ditto.	Ditto.
Daughter's Husband.	Marumakan.	Ditto. <sup>4</sup>	Ditto.	Ditto.
Daughter.	Makal.	—	—	—
Son's Wife.	Maru Makal.	Ditto. <sup>4</sup>	Ditto.	Ditto.
Sister's Daughter.	Anantirawal.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.

It is evident from the kinship terms, that incomplete as they are, they reveal the consequences of some of the peculiar features of Nayar social organisation. Without better knowledge of the kinship terms, however, especially in the absence of a good many terms, as, for example, those used by women towards these different relatives or the terms of address, any speculation would be extremely rash.

It is not possible to collect such a complete record from the Malayalam-speaking gentlemen at present in England. It is hoped that this short note will attract the attention of some student of Anthropology in India and lead to the removal of this defect in the existing records of the Indian kinship terms.

(3) If the sister is elder, the word *chattan* is also used.

(4) If an elder sister of the wife, the word *chattati* is added to name.

<sup>1</sup>This friend of mine informs me that the word "Achi" was formerly used for wife also but now means a vile woman.

<sup>2</sup>The word is said by informants No. (1) and (2) to be used in Central Travancore mutually by the husband's sister and brother's wife.

<sup>3</sup>This friend of mine informs me that the word is used to denote the younger brother and the sister's sons by the Karnarvan.

<sup>4</sup>The word is said to denote also sister's son, the sister's daughter's son and so on.

## CATAMARANS AND REED RAFTS

AS EVIDENCE OF FORMER RACE-CONTINUITY FROM THE  
MEDITERRANEAN EASTWARD TO SOUTH AMERICA.

The following is the substance of a paper on the above subject read by James Hornell, Esq., F. L. S., F. R. A. I., at the last annual meeting of the Indian Science Congress :—

Shaped rafts are divided into catamarans and reed rafts, the former consisting of logs of definite number and form, the latter of bundles of reeds also shaped definitely. The latter appear to be the older form ; they are depicted of varied types in paintings and sculptures of the pyramid age in Egypt and in Assyrian sculptures. In the latter country, floats composed of air-distended skins are also figured in the same sculptures, and these were also in use by sea-fishermen and traders on the Southern Arabian coast in the first century A. D., according to the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*.

At the present day reed rafts are employed on the Tigris, in Seistan and in north-west India. Those of Seistan are particularly finely shaped and closely resemble those of ancient Egypt. Cruder forms are found on the Upper Nile, while inflated skins are still in use in certain parts of the Hadramut coast in Arabia. Their use also persists in Albania, Mesopotamia and North India.

In Socotra, and in Oman, sea rafts are employed in fishing, all more or less rude and composed of varying materials. On the east coast of India, these

are elaborated into the true catamaran. Of this there are three main types with numerous varieties of each. The fundamental idea seems a copy in wood of the reed rafts of riverine areas, the original home of the catamaran folk.

In south-eastern New Guinea and in the Solomon Islands, log catamarans of the same general type as the Indian, but cruder in form, are in general use.

In Australia the raft idea has been little developed and remains in the crudest possible stage, this being a form of locomotion evidently not agreeable to the genius of this peculiar race.

In Formosa occurs a fine bamboo sailing raft notable for the possession of three lee boards dropped through slots in the frame work—one median, the others on the quarters.

From New Zealand, Norfolk Island and some of the Society Islands various forms of sea-going reed rafts have been recorded, and this is noteworthy when we come to find reed rafts of the Seistan and ancient Egyptian model in general use in Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador. In this region the reed raft has been highly specialized, and is used both on rivers and lakes and in the sea. Other forms—the balsa proper—occur in Ecuador with a log hull. Just as in South-West Asia reed rafts are linked with skin floats, so here also Chilian fishermen in former times used inflated skins in fishing on their surf-beaten shore-line.

Finally, on the coast of Brazil, big sailing catamarans with a great family resemblance to those of

Formosa are still common for sea-going purposes, and like the Formosan type they have a powerful median lee-board or drop keel—a most remarkable device.

The distribution of shaped rafts extends from the Mediterranean through Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia and India, thence to Melanesia, Formosa, New Zealand, and Southern Polynesia to South America, where finely developed examples are found on both coasts. This distribution so far as the Mediterranean region and Southern Asia are concerned is conterminous with the known eastern limits of the Mediterranean Race. I venture to suggest that its still further eastern extension through Polynesia to South America connotes an early movement of the ancestors of the same people—the proto-Mediterraneans. I would not hazard such a conclusion on the evidence of shaped rafts alone; this merely gave the hint. I rely chiefly on the mass of evidence gathered together by Professor Elliot Smith in support of his theory of a great cultural drift from the Mediterranean by the intermediary of Phœnician sailors and traders during the early centuries of the last millenium before Christ. The evidence he adduces—and what I adduce is additional—proves that a culture agreeing in its main features with that which has been associated with the Mediterranean race, permeated South-West Asia including India, and extended thence in a gradually decreasing degree right across the Pacific till it impinged upon the shores of South America. That a comparatively few sailors and traders could have made such deep and lasting impressions on the masses of the populations in so many and such widely

separated localities I cannot conceive ; if this occurred so comparatively recently as the beginning of the first millenium B. C., some hint would surely be preserved of these foreign traders who introduced so many new customs in the lands they visited in the East, particularly in India. The hypothesis I advance is that there was race continuity at an early period girdling the world from northern Africa through southern Asia and tropical Polynesia to South America, and that the people who reached the last-named region were of the same stock as those who peopled the Mediterranean basin and ancient Mesopotamia before the fair-skinned Nordic hordes—the Achæans and the so-called Aryans—descended from the north and destroyed the old and highly developed cultures of Minoa and Dravida and of others wholly forgotten and lost. The oldest skulls we get in Southern India are long heads of small dimensions ; the earliest records of man in South America show the head-form to have been also dolichocephalic. The earliest navigators of the Pacific were almost certainly raftsmen rather than boat people, their craft varying from sea-going sailing catamarans of large size to small and crank reed and log rafts. The former survive in the great catamarans of Formosa and Brazil, the latter in the reed balsas of Peru and Ecuador, the *tutin* of Seistan and the *kattumaram* of Madras. Instead of dating this diffusion of the so-called Mediterranean culture to the first millenium B. C. I would incline to put it back to Pleistocene days or soon after—at least so far as the diffusion of the parent stock containing already the germs of its later characteristic culture-complex. If this be so, a stratum of the same

stock girdles the earth in the regions characterised by megalithic structures, shaped rafts and the other culture characteristics associated with these.

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## ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES AND QUERIES.

### I. Primitive Economics, Arts and Crafts.

1. The primitive weighing-beam is still in extensive use among the aborigines of parts of Chota Nagpur and the Orissa Feudatory States.

The Weighing-beam. Among some tribes such as the Pabri Bhuiyas the wooden weighing-beam is in universal use. Marks indicating a *seer* (about two pounds) and its fractions are made towards the outer end of the beam by incisions with a cutting instrument. *Editor.*

2. I have seen the bull-roarer made of a slip of bamboo and a piece of string used as a play-thing by Ho children in the Singbhum district of Chota Nagpur. They

The Bull-roarer. call it *Biur-sing*. I have also seen similar bull-roarers made and used as play-things by Santal children in the Santal area of the Monghyr district. *Editor.*

3. Among the Hos, the Pahiras and some other aboriginal and semi-aboriginal tribes

Drilling holes in the teeth. of Chota Nagpur the practice of drilling holes in the front teeth with a pair of iron borers one of which is longer than the other, is more or

less known. This practice is called "*bhōwar*". *Editor.*

4. Ho females paint the outer walls of their huts with red earth, coal-dust and

Wall-painting. yellow earth. Geometrical figures and the figures of elephants and horses are among the common designs for ornamental drawings on the walls. *Editor.*

## II. Primitive Sociology.

1. Among the Hos as among other allied tribes the husband and the wife

**Name-taboos.** may not utter each other's name.

If this taboo is not observed by either member of a Ho couple, their offspring, it is said, will be born either deaf or dumb or both.

*Editor.*

2. Besides a *Bhaisur* (husband's elder brother) and his *Kimin* (younger brother's wife), an *ārā* (younger sister's husband) and his *āji-hanar*

**Other taboos.** (elder sister of one's wife) are also taboo to each other. They must not touch or name each other nor sit on the same mat. They are only allowed, in case of necessity, to speak to each other from a respectable distance.

*Editor.*

3. Among the Hos, one of the recognized forms of marriage is known as *Nir-bolo* or Intrusion marriage. A female who is in love with a man

who, either owing to the coldness

**Intrusion Marriage.** of the man or the opposition of his people does not come forward to

marry her, takes the desperate step of entering his house unbidden carrying a pot of rice-beer on her head. On her arrival, the man's mother or other female relatives do their best to make the place too hot for her. But when she is found proof against all rebuff, she is reluctantly admitted as a 'Nir-bolo' wife and the 'Sinduri-rakab' (anointing with vermillion) ceremony accompanied by the necessary feast follows. If, however, owing to the poverty of the man, the

'Sindury-rakab' ceremony is delayed for any length of time, children born of the union in the meanwhile are considered quite as legitimate as those born after the ceremony. *Editor.*

4. The existence of some form of hypergamy among the higher castes of the Malabar country (Cochin and Travancore) is well known to students of Indian Ethnology. Thus the higher castes of Malabar may be roughly arranged in order of social position somewhat as follows :— 1. Nambudiris, 2. Mussadus, 3. Koil Tamburans, **Hypergmay.** 4. Tirmalpads, 5. Tamburans, 6. Tambans, 7. Ambalabasis (comprising Moothathus), Elliayathus, Sardis, and Muchhadus, and, 8. the Nayars. The girls of all the castes from the Nayars up to the Mussadus may enter into *sambandham* marriage with males of any of the castes higher than their own up to the Nambudiri Brahmans. The *Kulin* form of hypergamy *within the caste* in Bengal and the similar form in the Punjab and Gujrat are also familiar to the Indian ethnologist. It is not perhaps so well known that among the Paharias (Nepalis) of Nepal and Sikkim, as I came to know in a recent visit to British Sikkim, regular marriage of a girl of a lower caste with a man of a higher caste is in vogue. Thus, the higher Paharia castes may be roughly arranged in order of rank somewhat as follows : 1. Brahmans or Upadhyas, 2. Jaisis, 3. Chhatrias, 4. Thappas, or Mangars, 5. Limbus, 6. Khambas, 7. Murmis or Tamangs, 8. Jimdars (including the Yakhias or Diwans), 9. Gurungs, 10. Pradhans or Newars, 11.

Thakuris or Shabs, 12. the Vaisya Sunuars (as distinguished from the Sudra Sunuars), and, 13. the Vaisya slave castes of the Khasis, Jirels, and Ghartis. Below these come the Sudra castes of Sunuars (goldsmiths), Kamis (blacksmiths), Damais (tailors), Majis (navigators), Kumales (potters), Jogis (musicians), and Sarkis (cobblers), etc. These Sudra castes of Nepal and Sikkim may not touch a Brahman and Chhatri or a Vaisya but must stand below the road on the approach of a Vaisya, Chhatri or Brahman, just as in Malabar the lower castes—Tias or Aisadis, Izhuvans (artisans), Arayans (fishermen), Velars (sorcerers), Walans (boatmen), Pulayans Parayans, Korawars, etc., are not allowed to approach the higher castes. All the higher castes of Nepal from Brahman downwards may marry girls of lower castes (excepting, of course, the Sudra castes). But the offspring of an Upadhyā Brahman by a Vaisya girl ranks as a Jaisi, the offspring of men of other castes from Jaisi downwards by women of Vaisya castes lower than themselves are counted among their respective father's castes. Now-a-days, however, in Sikkim, a contrary practice is said to be often indulged in, a Paharia of a lower caste being sometimes found to marry a girl of a caste higher than his own—even a Brahman girl—with impunity. *Editor.*

5. Among the Mangars of Sikkim, as I found, cross-cousin marriage is compulsory. A

**Cross-cousin Marriage.** man is bound to marry his mother's brother's daughter. Amog the

Tamangs, Gurungs, Jimdars, Limbus and some other castes of Sikkim and Nepal, the same custom is said to prevail. Nepali Brahmans,

Chhatis and such Sudra castes as the Kamis, Damais and Sarkis do not, however, practise cross-cousin marriage.

*Editor.*

### III. Primitive Religion.

1. Among the Sauria Paharias of the Santal Parganas, when a case of intrigue or adultery is detected in the village community,

**Some Sauria Paharia** the whole village is considered tainted with *Chuta* (touch-tabu),

**Sacrifices.** and the village has to be ceremonially purified by sacrificing a fowl and sprinkling its blood on the offenders and their relatives and co-villagers generally.

*Editor.*

2. When the Sauria Paharias start on a hunting expedition, the *Chario* or leader of the hunt carries a hen-egg which he breaks and offers to Dinde or Sawaj-goali, before the party enter the jungle. The Dinde is said to be the herdsman of the beasts of the forest, and, if duly propitiated, this spirit prevents the beasts from harming the hunters.

*Editor.*

3. The Dinde spirit is also believed to reside in certain weird and awe-inspiring trees or in other awe-inspiring spots such as a *Marghati* (burning place) and is believed to carry in his hands invisible spears with which he kills people trespassing near the trees. Such trees are accordingly avoided by the Sauria Paharia.

*Editor.*

4. The chief village-god of the Hos of Singhbum in Chota Nagpur, is called Desauli Bonga. His seat is ordinarily in a sacred *sal* (*shorea robusta*) grove

or *sarna*. But in some villages, owing to deforestation, a single sacred tree or clump of trees now represents the grove, and the Desauli receives offerings of rice, fowls or goats ; and the Hos have recourse to this spirit to rid themselves of disease or to seek for other boons. A special propitiation of the Desauli Bonga is held in January-February during the great Magé Parab—one of the two chief festivals of the tribe, the other being the Flower-feast or *Baha Parab* (Festival of Sal-flowers). On the occasion of the *Magé Parab* the great saturnalia of the Kolhan, the Desauli is ceremonially propitiated by the village priest called Diuri, who is supplied by the villagers with rice and *Diang* (rice-beer) as well as fowls for the purpose. A most interesting feature connected with the Desauli *Puja* (worship or rather propitiation), is that on the day appointed for the festival the Diuri or priest has not only to observe a fast but he must also shut himself up in his room and must not see any one until the time of the *Puja* while the villagers make all necessary preparations for the *Puja* and also indulge in singing and dancing. As the hour for the *Puja* approaches, the Diuri walks in procession to the shrine of Desauli Bonga carrying in his hands a pitcher of water. He must wear his loin-cloth in the orthodox *Diuri-Botoe* style (the flaps dangling before and behind) and walk on with head erect and arms akimbo, followed by his wife and an attendant who carries the offerings—a cock and hen, some rice and a quantity of *rasida* (essence of rice-

beer). The Diuri then applies a coat of cowdung plaster on the floor of the shrine and deposits the rice in twelve small heaps. He then proceeds with the following incantation :—

*Desáuli ám Mághekenleká ám pánguikenleká.  
Mera kuláge mera bing ge merá laihásu, merá bo' hásu.  
Sobásínditeing sebátánáing sárátánáing  
Máyamte girumte joroámeaing.  
Siu-gáiko Siu-uriko neltákome, chinátákome.  
Saitbátúkome, bugiákanko táioká nápeákankako  
táiokáko.  
Hisi rándiko dasi parjako neltákome, chinátákome  
Bugiakánkáko*

[*Translation* :— O Desauli ! you are like the Magé festival. You appear at times in the form of a tiger and at times in the form of a snake. Grant us immunity from diseases of the stomach and diseases of the head. I worship you, I serve you and I utter sounds (prayers). I pour blood (at your feet). Do look after, watch and preserve the cows and bullocks used in ploughing. Watch even the widows and tenantry so that they may keep good health and remain free from harm.]

*Sukumar Haldar, B. A.*

5. Among the other spirits of Ho demonology may be mentioned Singbonga or the Sun-god (god of the sky—of the upper regions) who is not confined to any sacrarium but receives the homage of all men at all times, and who sometimes receives votive offerings (āgom) made in case of recovery from illness ; Marang Buru or the great god—the earthly providence jo the Hos, who presides over the earth as Singbonga

is the Lord of the sky ; Maali Bonga who is propitiated for recovery from fever and illness ; and Nage-Era the nymph residing in tanks and springs, who when propitiated by offerings of eggs and turmeric is supposed to bring rain. It is interesting to note that the sacrificer is required to maintain strict sexual abstinence immediately before and during the *Puja* of Nagé-era, and that a man in whose house there is an expectant mother or a woman who has been confined but has not completed the period (one month) necessary for complete ceremonial purification is not permitted to sacrifice to this spirit. Sacrifices or offerings are also sometimes made to Gara-bonga or the river-god for bringing rain.

*Sukumar Haldar, B. A.*

6. In some Ho villages that I know, the 'Des' (country), that is say, every family in the village contributes its small subscription and with the money thus collected, either a goat or a sheep (each in alternate years) is purchased, and this is offered by the Diuri to Deasauli at the Desauli *Jaher* (grove sacred to Desauli) either in order to get rain or as a thanksgiving for sending seasonable rain.

*Editor.*

7. Every important male spirit has, according to the Ho, a female consort, and every important female spirit has a male consort. The *Jaher Buri* (Old Lady of the Sacred grove) is said to be the wife of Desauli. A hen is offered to the former and a cock to the latter.

*Editor.*

8. Singi-bonga or Sing-bonga (the Sun-god) is said to have for his wife *Chandu Homol* (the Moon) or

*Pangura Burhi.* A white cock or a white goat is offered to Singbonga by a Ho, who is so directed by a Rauria or medicine-man, to be cured of some disease. If the patient is not cured within a reasonable time (a month or two) after such sacrifice, a black hen is offered to Singibonga's wife. *Editor*

9. *Marang bonga* or *Disum bonga* is believed by the Ho to cause illness by entering ("possessing") the body of an individual. When the *Rauria* magician declares this spirit to be responsible for any case of illness, the head of the sick person's family sacrifices a fowl or a goat to that spirit, as described. If such a sacrifice fails to bring about recovery, a sheep may be offered, and the latter failing to bring about the desired result, a buffalo is, if possible, sacrificed. *Editor.*

10. While sacrifices are offered to Desauli, the other local gods, boundary-gods and minor spirits are also invoked. Thus at the Desauli *Puja* of village Potka, I noticed that besides Desauli, the Diuri also invoked Nagé-era, Bindi era, Garhabonga, Ikir-bonga, and other minor deities, *Simiren-sararenka* (boundary gods &c), Kandeor-Lopa (the name of a spirit supposed to reside in a block of rock in a cave in Chirisera buru hill), and Ara Hasa (or 'red earth' supposed to reside in a field [upland, *tanr* or *piri*] at the foot of the Chirubera hill, the earth of the field having a light reddish or rather yellowish tinge.) *Editor.*

11. The Ho sacrificer while invoking and making offerings or sacrifices to Singibonga, has to stand or sit with face to the east, to Marang-bonga with

his face to the west, to the village gods with his face turned in the direction of the Desauli Jaher ( sacred grove ) of the village, and to the Haram-hoko ( ancestor-spirits ) with his face turned in the direction of the *ading* or inner tabernacle of his hut which is supposed to be their seat.

*Editor.*

12. As among the Mundas, so among the Hos, the spirit of a deceased is, after cremation or burial, ceremonially conducted back to his house, and offering of *ili* ( rice-beer ), new rice, etc., are made to the spirit at the *ading* or inner tabernacle of the house sacred to the ancestor-spirits. Supposed marks or foot-prints observed on ashes sprinkled at the door of the hut are taken to indicate the cause of death : thus, when the marks resemble those of human foot-prints, some witch or magician is supposed to have caused the death, when the marks resemble those of the paws of tiger or of a cat, it is believed that if the deceased had lived longer he would have been killed by a tiger ; when the supposed marks resemble those left by a snake, it is believed that if the deceased lived longer he would be bitten to death by a snake. When, however, the supposed marks resemble those of the claws of a bird, the deceased is believed to have died a natural death. *Editor.*

13. The Hos profess to have no fears of *blunts* or spirits of such human beings as have received regular obsequies and have been conducted back to the house (*ading*). *Editor.*

14. The spirit of a Ho killed by a tiger is called *Bagaiti*. Once a year, the son or brother of a

Ho thus killed, offers a fowl, rice and water to the Bagaiti on a *tanr* or field outside the settlement (*basti*). The man goes alone at dead of night to this *tanr*, stands with his back turned in the direction in which death occurred, cust the fowl and offers this fowl, together with some rice and water, by throwing these offerings towards his back, and goes straight home without looking back. It is believed that if he should look back, he would be seized and harmed by the Bagaiti.

*Editor.*

#### IV. Primitive Magic.

1. The meat of deer, hare, porcupine and other hairy animals are taboo to pregnant women amongst the Birhors. It is believed that should she eat such meat she will bring forth a hairy

**Birhor Food Taboos.** babe. She is not even permitted to look at such game when it is brought home by a party of hunters.

*Editor.*

2. The meat of the *Suia* bird is taboo to unmarried young Birhor men and women. It is believed that the eating of such meat by an unmarried person will result in the failure of all negotiations for his or her marriage.

*Editor.*

3. The brain of an animal may not be eaten by Birhor youth; if eaten, the hair of the eater will turn prematurely grey.

*Editor.*

4. A young Birhor may not eat an egg which sounds when shaken, as the eating of such an egg is believed to cause Otorrhæa (a flow of pus from the ear) in the eater.

*Editor.*

5. A Birhor woman may not eat twin fruits (two growing together in the same cup or calyx) of *terel* (*Diospyros tomentosa*) or *tarop* (*Buchania latifolia*) trees. If she does so, she will give birth to twin children. [Cf. the similar prohibition in Bengal regarding twin plantain fruits or bananas].

*Editor.*

6. A pregnant Birhor woman may not eat the head of a *Chora* fish, for if she does so there will be bleeding from her nose and genital organ. [Compare the similar superstition among the Santals.] *Editor.*

7. *Tiki lâd* (or bread made of rice-flour dough enclosed within two leaves and boiled in water in an earthen vessel) is taboo to a pregnant Birhor woman. If she eats it, the ears of her child will be wrinkled. *Editor.*

8. A Birhor who has honey in his hut must give a little of it to anyone asking for it. If he refuses to give it, all the honey will soon evaporate or disappear. This is said to be the *Dharam* (religion, or inherent characteristic) of honey. *Editor.*

9. An even number is considered unlucky by the Birhor. Accordingly, in marriage processions, or in visits to a bride's or bridegroom's house for preliminary negotiations, exchanges of gifts &c., the party must consist of an odd number of people.

10. When a thunder-storm or hail-storm comes on, Birhor women throw wooden rice-grinding pestles (*samat*) on the open space in front of their huts. It is believed that the force of the storm will abate thereby, and hail-stones will cease to fall. This is also believed to prevent lightening.

*Editor.*

11. The accompanying photograph is that of an orchid presented to me by His Highness the Swabaw of Sipaw of the Shan States in **A Lucky Orchid from Burma.** It is, I am told by **Burma.** His Highness, considered so lucky that it has to be guarded night and day, and His Highness has employed special trustworthy sentinels for that purpose. He warned me that at least as long I was in Burma I must take the greatest care of the plant. On the completion of my tour for anthropological work, I returned to Simla, took out an off-shoot and sent it to Sir Herbert Risley, my chief. I took the other part to Bombay and gave it to my family. After some time it died but I have got with me its photograph, Plate III, taken by Mr. Mackay of Mandalay. It is called "*Cypripedium ballatum*." The virtue of "good luck" ascribed to it is, I believe, due to its curious shape resembling a *yoni*. Such is also the case with the tatoo mark of a fish or of a triangle. (Compare folklore about horse shoe-shaped trinkets or ornaments).

At Rangoon, I was told that the plant is rare and that it would cost me Rs. 150 or so (£10 to £15) if I wanted to buy one. The demand is due to the belief that this particular species is supposed to bring all-round good luck in general to its owner or possessor.

Watson & Bean's book on orchids gives the following description of this plant. It has been identified by the Economic Botanist to the Botanical Survey of India:—

**CYPRIPEDIUM BALLATULUM:**—A very pretty species, belonging to the same group as *Cypripedium Godfreyæ*, *C. Concolor*, &c., but larger than any other. The largest leaves are leathery, ten inches long and three inches in width, green with grey markings above dotted with purple beneath. Scape, three inches to four inches high, bearing one large flower, three inches in diameter, white, spotted all over with purple black; some of the spots being large; the dorsal sepal is almost round, concave, hairy on the outside; petals large almost as broad as long, the lower edges meeting behind the lebellum; pouch small as in *Cypripedium Concolor*. Hitherto this species has flowered at various seasons. It is easily grown, requiring a tropical temperature, with plenty of moisture, but water should not be allowed to lodge in the bases of the leaves. It thrives best when potted in a mixture of turfey loam and peat, in equal parts, with a few nodules of lime-stone added. The flowers are very varied in their marking. Native of islands near Cochin-China introduced in 1888.

Rai Bahadur B. A. GUPTE, B. A., F. Z. S.

#### V. Notes on Castes and Tribes.

1. Among the Bhuiyas of the Mayurbhanj State in Orissa there are the following totemestic septs:—

<b>Bhuiyas and the Purans.</b>	1. Komosta (a small bird); 2. Magara ( <i>makara</i> or crocodile); 3. Nagesh (King of snakes); 4. Kachchap (tortoise); 5. Baraha (boar); 6. Mayur (peacock); 7. Meena (fish); 8. Batsasa or Vatsa (a calf); 9. Kurma (turtle); 10. Kali
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Nag (Kali snake) ; 11. Saras (crow) ; 12. Sal (a kind of fish). Of these twelve sept names<sup>1</sup>, only the following six<sup>2</sup> occur among the Puranas of the same locality. 1. Nagesh ; 2. Kachchhap ; 3. Baraha ; 4. Mayur ; 5. Kurma ; 6. Sal. Risley (*Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, vol II p. 180) considers the name "Puran" to be "a synonymn for Bhuiya in Mayurbhanj",, but omits to mention their septs. In apparent support of this suggested identity of the Purans and the Bhuiyas of Mayurbhanj it may be mentioned that both the tribes have similar *santaks* or marks for signature in case of illiteracy, or for branding cattle. The Bhuiyas have the *khanda* or sword as well as the *katari* or knife for their *santaks*. The Purans use only the *khanda* mark for their *santak*. As for surnames, whereas 'Naik', 'Dandapat', and 'Mahapatra' are titles common to both the Bhuiyas and the Purans, the former have two additional surnames, namely, Das and Sinha which the Purans do not possess, whereas the latter have the following additional surnames not in use among the Bhuiyas, namely, Dhir, Shee, Thoyal, Dol-naik, Patbandha, Dhungia, Raj, Dhal, Tung, Tipria, Bhanj, and Deo. The Bhuiyas of Mayurbhanj have two sub-tribes, San-dals (small Dals) and Bar-dals (big Dals) ; the Purans have two sub-tribes named Bhanj Purans and Purans. These sub-tribes do not intermarry nor take cooked food from each other. In physical features, dress and ornaments, customs and manners, and religious beliefs and ceremonies there

<sup>1</sup>Of these Risley mentions only Nag (Nagesh ?) and Kach (Kachchhap).

<sup>2</sup>Risley omits to mention any among the Puranas.

appears to be a close resemblance between the Bhuiyas and the Purans. But there are no traditions of a common origin.

(Based on information supplied by—

MR KAMAKHYA PRASAD BASU, B. L.,  
Treasury officer, Mayurbhanj.)

2. In the March number of this Journal (p. 73), a correspondent inquired whether there is any tradition among the Kharias of the Ranchi district about their first parents belonging to the Sabbar (Savara) *gotra* or sept. I have myself come across the following tradition : All Kharias, it is said, are descendants of Sabbar. Burha and Sabbar Burhi. Their first home was a place named *Ghatbera*, (literally mountain-pass upland). When their progeny multiplied, Sabbar Burha and Sabbar Burhi migrated to the north leaving at *Ghatbera* their children who in their turn migrated to the south. And their descendants came to be known as Sabbar-Bhuiya-Kharias. This may not improbably refer to the remote past when the Savaras and the Bhuiyas of Orissa and the Central Provinces and the Kharias of Chota-Nagpur formed one united people and were all known by the generic name of "Savara". This would go to refute Dalton's theory that the tribal Bhuiyas do not belong to the Munda (or what an earlier generation of ethnologists called "Kolarian") group but to the Southern or Dravidian group, and support Russel's opinion to the contrary namely that the tribal Bhuiyas are a branch of same race to which the Munda-speaking tribes belong.

*Editor.*

3. It is interesting to note in this connection that among the Kharias of the Singbhum district the following among other exogamous totemistic septs or *gotras* are met with, namely, Sabbar Bhuiya, Jalari Bhuiya, Dumari Bhuiya, Dub Bhuiya, Hembrom Bhuiya. These names would appear to corroborate the tradition of a common origin of the Bhuiyas of Chota Nagpur and Orissa and other Munda tribes. Risley in his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* does not mention these *gotra*-names nor several others such as the *Tesa* (to whom the *toila* bird is taboo) and the *Gulgu* (to whom all rotten animals are taboo) found among the Singbhum Kharias. He merely says,—‘I have been unable to ascertain whether the wild Kharias, commonly known as *Ban-Manush*, men of the woods have any similar divisions’ (*Ethnographic Glossary* Vol II, p. 78). ‘Hembrom’, it may be noted, is also a *gotra* (clan) name among the Mundas, the Santals, and the Hos.

*Editor.*

(The pages 166 - 174 have not been reprinted)

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## THE DEFINITION OF EXOGAMY.

By COL T. C. HODSON, F. R. A. I.

How far and in what respect can we improve on the original definition of exogamy as stated by McLennan in his *Primitive Marriage* (pages 48 & 53) and as again described by him in *Studies in Ancient History* (2nd Series, pages 265 and 46) ? In this enquiry attention may profitably be turned to the examination made by Andrew Lang (*Social Origins and Primal Law*. p. 10 sq.) of the “*Difficulties of Terminology*” wherein are discussed, analysed and elucidated the real meanings of the terms exogamy and endogamy first coined by McLennan. In the great collection of data bearing on Totemism and Exogamy (*Totemism and Exogamy*. Vol IV. p. 71sq) Sir James Frazer reviews the theories of the origin of exogamy put forward by McLennan, by Westermarck in his *History of Human Marriage* (chap. xiv) and L. H. Morgan in his *Ancient Society* (pp. 58, 425-6), and adheres to the views of the great American anthropologist. Rivers has shown (*Kinship and Social Organisation* pp. 70 and 72) that “the more widely distributed varieties of the classificatory system of relationship are associated with a social structure which has the exogamous social group as

its essential unit" and that "there are certain features of the classificatory system which suggest its origin in a special form of exogamous social grouping, viz, that usually known as the dual system in which there are only two social groups or moieties".

The last contribution to the vast literature on the subject is from Sir James Frazer who in his work on the *Folklore of the Old Testament* ( vol ii., pages 223 sq.) holds that "the two-class system of exogamy, the parent of totemic exogamy, once existed over a large area whence it has now disappeared as proved by the existence of the classificatory or group system of relationship" which he distinguishes from the system of individual relationship as demarcating the boundary between collectivism and individualism. He regards the three institutions, the preference for cross-cousin marriage, totemic exogamy, and the classificatory system of relationship ( p 245 ) as vitally connected.

The range of the problem has therefore increased sensibly. It would seem to be necessary to frame our definition of exogamy in terms which will indicate ( 1 ) the vital connection between several social factors and elements, ( 2 ) the dual organisation which represents the barest minimum conditions since there must be at least two intermarrying groups for exogamy to start, ( 3 ) the classificatory system which is "essentially a system of relationship between groups", and 4) the fact, undeniable, yet overlooked too often, that marriage, regarded as a convenient abbreviation for the process of the creation, under conditions laid down by society, of relations between individuals both as individuals and as members

of a group, varies necessarily in its conditions according to the views held in that society.

Let me emphasise two points. First, that the dual organisation represents the barest minimum condition of exogamy. Therefore exogamy postulates a dual organisation at the least : whether what produced exogamy also produced bisection, I cannot say. The two are in my view attributable to a common origin. A common cause may have produced both, but exogamy obviously demands that there shall be at least two social groups so that marriage can take place. The basis of the groups may be kinship, may be territorial association, may be totemic, but so long as there is some recognised principle of social classification, exogamy will work, will be possible, if there be at least two such groups.

The dual organisation is therefore the simplest form of social grouping which will enable exogamy to work. The effects and limitations of a dual system have been made clear by Sir James Frazer. The marriage of cousins is obviously the ordinary rule in a dual society with exogamy. (*Totemism and Exogamy*, iv, p. 107 ; see also vol. i, p. 273). The systems with four and eight classes in the social groupings produce definite effects indeed, so definite that it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the result of each successive dichotomy in striking out another class of relations from the list of persons with whom marriage may be contracted was deliberately intended and sought. (*Totemism and Exogamy*, i. 273). If so, surely in framing anew

a definition of exogamy some hint may properly be given of the effects which it produces, effects which as may be believed it is designed to produce, effects which therefore must be regarded as having been more or less clearly presented to the minds of those who got it going.

Again I urge that the law of exogamy even in the most backward societies as regulating marriage, must be held to regulate the relations of individuals as individuals, although at the same time the individual is regarded as a member of a definite social group. A Santal marriage brings with it certain consequences as regards the relations (a) of the man's younger brothers towards the wife, and (b) of the married man towards the younger sisters of his wife. Thus relations are created between individuals and groups, between individuals as members of a group as well as separate entities. The fundamental conditions of those relations spring from the principle of exogamy. The institution of marriage, as Rivers reminds us (*History of Melanesian Society*. ii, p. 145), has two great functions : it is the means of regulating sexual relations, and it is the means of regulating descent, inheritance and succession. In other words, the primary and fundamental function of marriage is the determination of the place which each newly born individual is to take in the social structure of the community into which he or she is born.

Obviously then the definition of exogamy to be framed must also take due and full note of the fact that exogamy lays down the essential conditions by means of which marriage as an institution

determines the place in society of each child as it is born. But society regards these children as definite reincarnations of deceased members of the group. They are not casuals. Spencer and Gillen state explicitly that "Every individual is the reincarnation of a spirit left behind by totemic ancestors in a far past time." (*Northern Tribes*, page 174.) Each man has (1) his personal name, (2) his secret or Churinga name, (3) sometimes a nickname, (4) the term indicating the relationship in which he stands to the person speaking to him, (5) his status term, (6) often a term of address connected with the initiation ceremony, (7) his class or sub-class name, and (8) his totemic name. Strictly speaking, only the first three and the last two of them can be spoken of as names in our sense of the word (p. 582), and we know from the same authority that the sacred name "is in fact often the name borne in the Alcheringa by the tribal ancestor of whom he is supposed to be the reincarnation." (*ibid.* p. 581). A sequence of names is traced down to a single name—that of the grandfather or grandmother which includes the names of any individual who stands to him in the relationship of father's father (*ibid.* p. 586). Naming is the social identification of the individual.

This belief in reincarnation in Australia has been discussed by Sir James Frazer (*The Belief in Immortality* p. 127 sq) who finds that "On the whole then we may conclude that a belief in the reincarnation of the dead has not been confined to the *Tribes of Central Australia*, but has been held by the tribes in many, perhaps at one time in all, other parts of the continent"

(p. 133). I have shown for other parts of the world such as India and Assam that with the belief in reincarnation are associated variations in funeral ritual consequent on ideas current in society as to the fate of the soul and as to the mode of death, itself a sure and unerring indication (to those that know) of the fate of the soul. I think there are signs of similar associations and similar variations in Australia. An explanation of the apparent differences of belief may be found in the fact that the reincarnation is not, as a rule, regarded as taking place immediately after death. There is a long period of waiting. This has been discussed at length by Hertz (*Annee Sociologique* X. 48 sq.) who remarks (p. 127) upon the close relationship which exists between funeral rites and those relating to birth and marriage. They all form part of what I call the cycle of life. The chain may be broken. The succession of reincarnations may be destroyed. There are current in early societies definite views as to the nature of death. What we call natural death is caused by the action of sorcery (Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, p. 136.)

What a man does, not what he says, is the surest touch-stone to his real belief. Thus in Australia, as in India and Assam, we find that those who have "violated tribal law"—the law of exogamy—"by taking as wife a woman who is forbidden to him", is not accorded a resting place or buried with the same full rites as with his law-abiding fellows. (Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes*. p. 512; Frazer, *op cit.* p. 161. cf. *Khasis*, p. 77, *Naga*

*Traces of Manipur.* p. 160. sq.). Sir James Frazer comments on the fact that "Acting under the same feeling they pay respect to the bodies of dead children and young women in the hope that the spirit will soon return and undergo reincarnation... In various castes or tribes of India it is the custom to burn the bodies of married people but to bury the bodies of the unmarried. With some peoples of India the distinction is made not between the married and the unmarried but between adults and children;.. among the Malayalis of Malabar the bodies of men and women are burned but the bodies of children under two years of age are buried and so are the bodies of all persons who have died of cholera and small-pox." (*op cit.* pp. 161-2). Those that die of cholera and small-pox are not able to be reincarnated. They are therefore separated from those that are so privileged, by the manner of the disposal of their dead bodies. That is the underlying principle of these differences. To this I trace the cases where no less than four modes of disposing of the dead bodies are practised by one and the same society. What a chance for the theory of the admixture of cultures is given by the discovery of cemeteries with bodies in the flexed and in the straight positions, with coeval traces of burning and perhaps of tree burial or river disposal !

I therefore urge that our definition of exogamy must be so enlarged as to embrace the principle of reincarnation as well as to include the aspect of marriage as the institution by means of which "is

effected the determination of the place which each newly born individual is to take in the social structure of the community into which he or she is born" or 'reborn' as it should be put. That social structure is in early communities, so far as we know, best described in the terms of the classificatory system of relationship by which "the essential question is, Whom may I marry?" Accordingly the classificatory system classifies the whole community in classes or groups, the common bond between the members of each class or group being not one of blood but simply the similar relation of marriageability or non-marriageability in which they stand to each other and to the members of every other class or group in the community" (*Frazer, Totemism and Exogamy*, I. p. 290).

But society consists of a number of individuals who are always changing. Men are born, reach maturity, marry, reproduce, and die. The relations, duties and responsibilities of any individual at any given moment in his social life are fixed and determined in the lower culture, and I maintain that they are fixed and determined and explained by the fact that each individual is regarded as the reincarnation of a given ancestor so that at any stage and moment the individual behaves, or is expected to behave exactly as that ancestor in similar case is believed and reputed to have behaved.

I recognise that the theory I put forward departs from those in general currency. *Peu m'importe.* I believe with Sir William Ridgeway (*The origin of Tragedy*, p. 63; *Dramas and Dramatic Dances*)

that many beliefs are "merely secondary and dependent on the primary belief in the immortality or durability of the soul". The songs they sing in a language with which they are not now acquainted (Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes*, p. xiv), the dances they dance, the rites they perform, all these are in their duty because they do sing and perform what they have always done. Their position is always known, ascertained and definite because it is the position they had in the past and will again hold in the future. It is more than a psychological idea. It is an idea born of social continuity, essentially a social idea as to the origin and nature at any given moment of society and of the relations which bind together the several individuals making up society.

The classificatory system is systematic because it rests on certain principles of which the prime is this rule of exogamy. We see that the classificatory system makes marriageability the "common bond". But marriageability and exogamy are both conditions laid down by society under which reincarnation is effected, under which the deceased members of the group return. As to the terms in classificatory system, in a number of cases the same term is used for grandfather and grandson. Brown states (J. R. A. I., XLIII, 154) that the term for the father's father's father was *Mainga* (son) and that *Maeli* is the term for both the father's father and for the son's son. These "reciprocals" are found elsewhere. (Rivers, *Melanesian Society*, II. p. 28).

In a system with only two divisions and matrilineal descent, father and son will be of different divisions but grandfather and grandson will be of the same division and therefore obliged to take their wives from the same division. Rivers has shown the existence of marriages between alternate generations, (*op cit* II. p. 47 sc.). These marriages may be between grandfather and grand-daughter (*op cit* II. p. 48) and between grand-son and grand-mother (*op cit* II. p. 57). [The terms grand-father, grand-son, grand-mother, grand-daughter are used here in the classificatory sense and not in the limited sense of our system.] Rivers' conclusions were based on "the working hypothesis of a dual organisation with matrilineal descent". If we examine the table as given by Spencer and Gillen (*Central Tribes*, p. 70 sq., *Northern Tribes*, p. 96 sq.) and by Brown more recently (*op cit.* pp. 148, 172, 176, 177) we find that in those cases where "descent is counted in the male line, that is the children come into the same moiety of the tribe as that to which the father belongs, yet at the same time they pass into the half of the moiety to which he does not belong. This secures the result that the children of a brother and sister may not marry one another". The note appended to this passage (*Northern Tribes*, p. 97) shows that Urabunna rules ensure the marriage of the children of brothers and sisters though of course it must be remembered that the relationship may be tribal and not by blood. The four-class system described by the authors cited shows also that the grandson belongs to the same moiety as his grandfather.

Thus, as Brown shows, (*loc cit* p. 148), Banaka marries Burung and the children are Palyeri. Palyeri marries Karimera and the children are Banaka. But it is also shown in this important account that a man may not marry his KABALI, that is a woman who is his father's mother. Equally he may not marry his TAMI—his daughter's daughter. There are thus additional rules forbidding marriages which elsewhere are permitted. In the Bariera system there are other notable features. The relationship system regulates the whole social life of the people. It is based on actual relations of consanguinity and affinity. Distinctions are made between nearer and more distant relatives though still calling them by the same name. A man's own father is pre-eminently 'mama', the actual brother of a man's own mother is pre-eminently his 'kaga'. The wife of his 'kaga' is pre-eminently his own father's sister and his own wife is pre-eminently the daughter of his 'kaga'. It is a high level of individualism within the classificatory system. It retains the organisation by which reincarnation works by alternate generations. "There are", we are told, "no terms for relatives in the third ascending or the third descending generations....I did not come across a single instance of a man or woman and his or her great grandchildren being alive at the same time. The point is interesting". It is indeed interesting for it goes to prove how observed facts have influenced the scheme of social organisation as described in the classificatory terms. The rules which prevent the marriage of grand-parents with grand-children are

not yet incorporated in the classificatory terms nor have they produced any further segmentation or dichotomy. Rivers has shown that "marriage with the wife of the father's father is compatible both with the four-fold and the eight-fold systems" (*op cit* II. 67). The accounts given of the eight-class system, show that (Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, I. 277 sq.) a Thapanunga man marries Ijupita, his son is Thapungarti who marries an Ijambin woman and has issue counted as Thapanunga—the grand-father's group. This result has escaped notice because the pedigrees have not been followed through, The reincarnation hypothesis accounts for the alternation which is constant.

If a man is normally regarded as the reincarnation of his grandfather then such marriages (forbidden by the Hariera) would be intelligible on the hypothesis that reincarnations do stand for, and have the same social duties, liabilities and rights as those of the second ascending generation. How far does this fit in with the general relation of the individual to society at this level? It may be argued that society consists of two divisions, A and B. Each division is composed of two sexes, an unalterable fact which cannot be denied. Parents, grand-parents, children and grand-children are recognised divisions. In "A" division thus there are "A" parents, "A" Grand-parents, "A," Children, "A." grand-children and "A" brothers. In each section there are a x individuals. A parents consist of Ap 1, 2, 3, to Ap x. "A" grand-parents consist of Agp 1, 2, 3, to Agpx, and so on. "A" parents pass in course of time

to the group "A" grand-parents. Reincarnation is restricted to the married and fertile. There is equivalency with 'degrees' as among the Kariera for social purposes between all members of the group of "A" parents. The individual reincarnated may not be the actual grand-father who indeed may still be living but he is a person who is called grand-father under the classificatory system.

If the actual grand-father be still living, the new-born child is identified with, is named, as we say, after some other person of the group of grand-fathers. The group unity is continually preserved by this hypothesis. We have to recollect that the separation of the individual from the group, the realisation of individuality from a social point of view, has many stages which sociological analysis alone can classify and distinguish.

It will be allowed that to restrict universal anatomical knowledge to its simplest expression all societies are aware of and recognise that there are two sexes, that women bear children and men do not, that both men and women have bodies which are made up of flesh, blood and bones, that men and women have breath, that the breath ceases and that the course of blood ceases in death. What psychological data can be regarded as universally known ? Can we assert that when a society regards all its existing members as so many reincarnations of pre-existing members of that society we are entitled to infer that such a society is really aware of the existence of that society as an entity apart from the individuals who at any given moment

compose it ? That there has been the social continuity which is essential for the development of such an idea will be allowed. That in many societies, now by periodical gathering, now by definite institutions such as the Bachelors' Hall or by secret societies, are preserved and transmitted the tribal lore, the tribal beliefs, will also be admitted. Then there exist means by which modifications of tribal institutions, alterations in current ideas can be effected, as is clear from the accounts of Spencer and Gillen. That there has been much speculation on matters of a psychological nature such as the nature of the soul, is a fact that is patent to all as is the immense range and variety of speculation ancient and modern, savage and scientific, on these subjects.

The belief in reincarnation involves to some degree an admission, a recognition, of individuality within the group ; it demands explanations as to the how and why, as to what happens after death, as to what is life and what is death. There is ample evidence from all sides that in the lowest culture, as we adjudge it, these questions have been asked and have been answered ; and if the evidence is not full and complete, much of the deficiency may arise from our indecision, our own uncertainties as regards these very matters. I confess that when I was told that an American investigator had got full accounts from the Nagas of their beliefs regarding the soul, I was untouched by his success as I knew perfectly well that what they meant by soul and what I meant by soul were two very different things and I knew too that the explanations of the connotation of the Naga

word for soul might possibly suffer in transmission via two or three other languages. That the peoples to whom I have referred from time to time holding the belief in reincarnation have speculated on these high and deep matters, can be easily proved. What then for the Australian is reincarnated ? How is the body formed ? Are body and soul transmitted together ? The Arunta seem to be well aware of the anatomical facts set forth at the beginning of the last paragraph. They believe that the soul is transmitted from body to body (Spencer and Gillen) choosing a plump woman as mother, which after all is some evidence of taste. I compare the views of the Arunta which have vexed the wise and learned for long years with those held by such tribes as the Bariera as recorded by a careful and very competent observer well acquainted with the trouble caused in the scientific world by Arunta nescience of procreation. He tells us that "When a woman conceives, her condition is said to be the action of some particular member of her tribe who is spoken of as the WORORU of the child after it is born ..The WORORU of a child in every case (except one) that I examined in the Bariera tribe is a man standing in the relation of "brother" to the actual father of the child and therefore stands in the relation of MAMA (father or father's brother) to the child itself." (*loc cit* p. 168). The exception was a case where the man "made" his own child having killed an emu and sent the spirit into his own wife. Stress has already been laid on the fact that actual relationship, as we know it, is well recog-

nised by these people who are now in contact with White settlements. Indeed there are but some ninety or so all told of this tribe. (*loc cit* p. 144) But, as a rule, the actual father whom they recognise does not "make" his child. The "making" of a child is the work, the business of the brother. In what sense and how then is the child "made"? It is made by killing an animal, or by giving some food to the woman who eats it and becomes pregnant. But we may ask whether the combination of soul and body is "made" or is it only the spirit that is thus provided, leaving the body to be provided by the usual marital relations? We learn that the Bhotias of Sikkim hold that the bone descends from the father's side and the flesh from the mother's (*Bengal Census Report*, 1911. p. 326). We are not told what the Bhotias believe as regards the nature and source of the spirit or soul of the child. It is obvious that given three separable elements,—bone, flesh and spirit,—there may be many variations of belief. If we look at Indian belief, there are indications that still further refinements may result separating out soul from spirit resolving our nature into *puruṣha*, *atman*, *sukshma sarira*, *linga sarira*, *sthula sarira*, *kārana sarira*.

There is evidence enough of an almost indefinite range of analytical detail to complicate the situation and to increase the number of possible and permissible permutations and combinations. Let us remember the habits of the mentality of the lower culture as philosophic philologists see them, the habit of analysis—of differen-

tiation, of classification by assigning prime weight to the differences not to the resemblances, the poverty of abstract concepts, the wealth of concrete variations, the psychological concord between the habits thus disclosed and the variability of hand-made products,—no machinery,—no abstractions,—variety overshadowing unity in every aspect of mental activity. I find a great deal of truth in Andrew Lang's searching analysis of "Australian problems" (*Memorial Essays* presented to E. B. Tylor. p. 210 *et sq.*; also Van Gennep, *Mythes et légendes d'Australie*. XI. VI. *et sq.*).

Before we reach any final conclusion we ought to be sure that we know what it is that is reincarnated. That some confusion exists in the minds of the lower culture is probable enough, for these problems are still problems for the higher culture. Some of our difficulties will disappear if we remember that the lower culture is well aware of what happens to the bones and flesh when a man dies, that they act as if they believed that something survived which has a material existence in some respects similar to, yet in others different from, that of this world. It is possible, if the task be worth while, to reconcile the conflicting views by urging that one part—the soul—is regarded as immortal, while another part—the spirit—is reincarnated, that something is produced from man at death which passes on, bearing with it the tokens of this life, the scars, the wounds, the tattoo marks, and that there is also something which returns and thereby main-

tains the continuity of society, a phenomenon which may have struck the minds of the more thoughtful ; for in the wealth of legend and tale there is surely ample proof of mental activity, and in the social system of practicality. There may be confusion of these two things, they may not be clearly and sharply distinguished, but I suspect that this supposition of a duality—spirit and soul—for which there is evidence in Indian culture—the one passing on to a world and life of its own, the other returning—reincarnating, has some truth in it ; but I do not claim for it that it is co-equal and co-existent with the total number of cases where the belief in reincarnation is found. It will help perhaps, too, to explain the duality of funeral rites in another aspect.

If, then, the ghost, that which leaves man on death bearing the outward and visible marks of human existence, the scars etc., be committed to an immortality, while the soul, the individuality, which also separates from the body on death, becomes available for reincarnation, provided certain conditions of eligibility be fulfilled, an aspect of totemism emerges into clearness by means of which the association of this social concept with the dominant social concept, that of reincarnation, is manifested. At this point I am compelled to refer to the views of the French anthropologist, the late M. Durkheim, whose exposition of the relations of these beliefs is worked out in *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*, chap. VIII., p. 343 et sq. The inter-relations, the inter-dependence of all social concepts are such as to make it necessary for analysis to be

followed immediately by a full measure of integration. The totem is a reservoir of social material. Our difficulty is to understand the process of thought by means of which a man can say he is his grandfather, a process as comprehensible as that by means of which he says he is an Emu. To us he is himself, not his grandfather. To us he is a man, not an Emu. To us the idea of social antiquity is clear so that we can let the reincarnation idea pass muster, but we find it difficult to accept the totemic beliefs unless by similar reasoning we allow a similar identity and a similar relationship between the men of the Emu Group and all emus, (see Spencer and Gillen, *Central Tribes* p. 202.)

The association of totemism with food receives support, too, since the soul comes by food eaten by the pregnant woman, a belief found among the Shans (cf. Brown, 100, *op cit* p. 168; Durkheim, *op cit* p. 372). It has always been a matter of difficulty to see why *intichiuma* ceremonies should be performed by men of one totem who are denied the enjoyment of the fruit of their labours so that they toil for the members of the other section. But the duality of interests is similar to the relations which make the women of one section the wives of the men of the other section. Have women souls ? The Granji says not (S. G. N. T. 170). The Digambar Jains say not (cf. Andrew Lang, *loc cit*, Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage* p. 136-6, Maine *Ancient Law* p. 203). Group A provides food and women for Group B and in return gets women from Group B and the food which is provided by the exertions

of Group B at its *intichiuma* ceremonies (Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes*, p. 149). The dual system in an advanced matrilineal people like the Garos results in a "dual control over all property" (Playfair, *The Garos*, p. 78). It does seem that the unity of the group is recognised in these ways and is maintained by these arrangements so that in these cases we may suspect that the dual organisation sprang from a unity by dichotomy. It will be remembered that there have been further divisions into the four- and eight-class systems where certain marriages are prohibited (Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, I. 282), where "All the evidence and probability are in favour of the view that the system originated in a simple bisection of the community into two exogamous classes only; that when this was found insufficient to bar marriages which the natives regarded as objectionable, each of the two classes was again subdivided into two making four exogamous classes in all; and finally that, when four exogamous classes still proved inadequate for the purpose each of them was again subdivided into two making eight exogamous classes in all". I have shown that the reincarnation idea works exactly the same way in simple matrilineal dual groups as in the four and eight class patrilineal groups since in each case there is reincarnation in alternate generations. I note an important passage in Spencer and Gillen (*Northern Tribes*, p. 148 sq.) where are described the reincarnation beliefs of the Urabanna that the spirit changes totem, moiety and sex. The alternation of reincarnations explains the unusual results

noted, since the man reincarnates not in his son but in his grand-son. "If we start with a Kirarawa man then his children are Matthurie, he is reincarnated as a Matthurie woman and her children are Matthurie; after death she is incarnated in the form of a Kirarawa man and his children are Matthurie, and so on without ceasing".

Frazer tells us that the subsequent divisions into four and eight classes were effected when the natives found the dual system insufficient to bar certain marriages. The purpose of marriage rules is to regulate the social status of the children as they are born. The position is in fact determined by the opinion that they are the reincarnations of previous members of the group. It may therefore be concluded that we ought to look for the origin of the objection taken by the natives to certain marriages in some aspect of the beliefs immediately associated with reincarnation. (see Sp. and G. *Central Tribes*, p 92 sq.) Incest, as we know it, that is, sexual relations between close kin, is not absolutely reprobated by them. We look at marriage as if its sole purpose were to regulate sexual relations. Its main purpose, as Rivers has shown, is to regulate descent and in this aspect it is impossible to dissociate it from the reincarnation idea. Incestuous marriages are therefore those the issue of which would be regarded as not reincarnations. Marital relations provide the physical frame and the element that is reincarnated in the frame so provided is recognised and admitted as a reincarnation only if born of parents holding the same relationship as the parents of the individual

reincarnated. We ought to know more, much more about the physiological and pyschological speculations of the lower culture before we decide for or against the origin of this peculiar belief and if we could be sure of the causes which engendered the belief in reincarnation we might at the same time hit on the origin of exogamy.

It will be noted that reincarnation and exogamy are more closely and more constantly associated than are totemism and exogamy. Frazer (*Totemism and Exogamy*, IV, 9.) concludes that the institution of exogamy is distinct in kind and in origin from the institution of totemism and that among the most primitive tribes totemism preceded exogamy. Accordingly the totemic system of tribes which do not practise exogamy may be called pure totemism and the totemic system of tribes which practise exogamy may be called exogamous totemism". The Arunta—the tribe whose traditions are cited as supporting the view that they did not have exogamy (they have it now),—according to Spencer and Gillen (*Native Tribes*, p. 389) got totems in the early Alcheringa which did not affect marital relations (*ibid*, p. 393). The class names Parunga, Bulthara, Purula and Kumara were conferred on the Arunta in the middle Alcheringa period, (*ibid*, p. 396). It is supposed by Spencer and Gillen that these names entailed some restrictions on marriage of a kind different from those introduced at a later period (*ibid*, p. 418). There is "no trace whatever of a time when the totems regulated marriage in the way now characteristic of many of the Australian tribes", but "we

may presume that along with the introduction of the class names now in use there was instituted in connection with them some system of marriage regulation" (*ibid*, p. 421). Is it not possible that the rules and the system came first and got named? It is hardly legitimate to infer from this fact that they had no marriage rules at all.

What Spencer and Gillen prove is that the class names did and the totems did not regulate marriage. If we compare their remarks on the reincarnation beliefs of the Arunta, the situation is more intelligible. "We are acquainted with special but somewhat rare cases in which a living man is regarded as the reincarnation of an Alcheringa ancestor whose class was not the same as that of his living representative". (*ibid*, p. 125). Two things are essential,—first, a child must belong to the totem of the spot at which the mother believes that it was conceived, and, second, it must belong to the moiety of the tribe to which its father belongs". (*ibid*, p. 126). We know that the classes appear comparatively late, later in tradition than the totem. Are the moieties coeval with the totems? Even then the Arunta seem to have appreciated the difference between the two sexes and date the rite of circumcision as far back as the earliest stage of the Alcheringa.

Circumcision is at the present day one of the most important ceremonies which must be passed through before any youth is allowed "to have a wife" [Sp. and G., *Native Tribes*, p. 402].

The division into moieties, the dual organisation which is not only the minimum requisite for working

exogamy but is indicative of the existence of exogamy, does not seem to be mentioned while the institution of (1) totems and (2) the four-class system is mentioned in the legend as told by Spencer and Gillen, (*loc cit.*) The reason for this is evident. The Arunta system of totems differs from other systems and therefore stands in need of explanation. The existence of the four-class as an innovation on the original simple dual organisation—created perhaps as Frazer surmises in order to effect exogamy—(*Totemism and Exogamy*, IV. 112 sq.) was also a feature of the social organisation so recent compared with the dual organisation—that it required explanation, the authority of the Alcheringa, (cf. Van Gennep, *La formation des légendes* p. 72). It is hardly legitimate to infer from the legends as they are presented to us, fragmentary and incomplete, that the evidence shows that the Arunta had originally no exogamic rules. Spencer and Gillen hint at restrictions of a different kind from those introduced at a later period as having been promulgated in the middle Alcheringa for people “whose organisation and marriage system were very different from those of the present Arunta tribe”. We may therefore agree with Sir James Frazer’s view that the “two-class exogamy or the dual organisation preceded totemic exogamy and was afterwards superseded by it” (*Folklore of the Old Testament*, II. 226). The classificatory system of relationship, exogamy and reincarnation go together.

I assert that the principle of reincarnation underlies the sanctions (where we can trace their existence)

from which exogamy gets its validity. Spencer and Gillen tell us (*Northern Tribes*, p. 148) that premature births or accidents during childbirth are always attributed to the fact that the spirit has entered the body of the wrong woman. The law of exogamy has been violated, unwittingly no doubt, but there in this accident which has happened is the proof. "It is also worth noticing that they do not bury in trees any young man who has violated tribal law by the taking as wife a woman who is forbidden to him" (*Northern Tribes*, p. 512). The Khasis exclude from the tribal ossuary those who marry within the clan (Gurdon, *The Khasis*, p. 77). Cases of monstrous birth, deformities, unusual presentation at birth, twins are all cases where for some reason or other the process of reincarnation has not worked or has been interfered with and we know how these cases are regarded and how they are dealt with in the lower culture.

I can now put my argument in the form of a series of propositions:

- (1) The belief in reincarnation is widespread.
- (2) The element reincarnated may be the soul, may be the combination of soul and ghost, since there is evidence from Central India that the physical peculiarities of deceased members of the group are believed to be reproduced in children and are looked for.
- (3) The classificatory system groups together in the grand-father group those who are reincarnated in the grand-son group.

- (4) The reincarnation of grand-father in grand-son holds in the dual organisation as in the four and eight class systems.
- (5) There is some but not complete evidence as to beliefs current as to the elements, physical and psychical, contributed by the parents.
- (6) That marriage regulates primarily the social position of each individual.
- (7) That the social position of each person is determined by the belief that he or she is a reincarnation of some previously existing member of the group and therefore occupies the same relative position with regard to the other reincarnated members of the group as at any prior stage of existence.
- (8) Exogamy is a term descriptive of the relations laid down for the members of the group in regard to the social process effecting the reincarnation of the deceased members of the group.
- (9) The sanctions of the so called law of exogamy are beliefs directly associated with the belief in reincarnation.
- (10) The association of the belief in reincarnation with the beliefs and practices called totemistic affords a stage of an intermediate nature between phases of reincarnation and explains the identifications possible.
- (11) The preference for cross-cousin marriage is associated with the belief in reincarnation, since (1) it brings into marital relations individuals who by the hypothesis have in all their prior

existences had the same relationship and (2) it emphasises the individuality which emerges at the time of marriage, by a precise indication of the proper relations. It gives a way out from group marriage.

(12) That the whole complex of social beliefs as to origin of social institutions and organisation shows marks of the inspiration of the idea of reincarnation which gives a psychological validity to custom and explains for the lower culture phenomena which we separate and they unite.

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## TREE MARRIAGE.

By COL. T. C. Honson, F. R. A. I.

There are two very distinct forms of Tree Marriage practised in India. The one found among such tribes as the Santals, Hos and other members of the Munda (linguistic) group forms part of the main and most important marriage ceremony.<sup>1</sup> It is obligatory on all members of the tribe who wish to contract a union of the first order. The existence of "unions" of second rate importance but adequate and effective in so far as their issue is concerned regulating descent, is a sociological fact of interest. In the other practised in the higher culture<sup>2</sup> it is attached to secondary rites, is not part of the main marriage ceremonies.

The two forms are not of the same race and are not scientifically comparable. In the second mode, the rite secures various advantages such as an artificial social status, or the avoidance of social and other disabilities. Both modes are products of social factors ; both are but in very different degrees authorised and approved by their societies.

The real meaning of the first class of the cases where the rite forms part of the main marriage ceremonies can be made clear only by integrating and synthesising it with the general social characteristics of the tribes who practise it and by correlating it with other social practices and beliefs of the group. Every social institution or rite forms part of and is organically related thereby to every other social institution and custom.

Each group may have sprung from a common stock but has diverged partly by external, partly by internal facts varying in each case.

The members of the Munda linguistic group speak languages which are possessed of a richly varied stock of words to denote individual terms.<sup>3</sup> That imposes a serious limit on their powers of thought. It is not possible to argue about them and their customs as if they were possessed of a highly developed philosophically potential form of speech. Santali preserves a complicated system of inclusive and exclusive plurals—evidence of “group consciousness holding its own”, which is reinforced by the direct statement of a recent investigator (Mc Alpin, *On the Condition of Santals in Midnapur*, etc.) that “the Santal does not recognise himself as a separate unit but as part and parcel of the village community”. Totemism flourishes in this group. What is the bearing of marriage rites to this expression of individual and social relations? Is there again any connexion with the fact that the marriage rites of which tree marriage forms an integral and an important part cannot take place till certain funerary rites<sup>4</sup> have been adequately performed? What are the purposes of these funerary rites? Marriage regulates descent. Status involves rights and duties. Some come to fruition at once, while other rights or duties do not mature till later, others only on fulfilment of conditions such as the birth of children. The social status of the issue of married persons is determined by rites which in these small communities take place with the full knowledge of

everybody so that by no means is it possible for first class less formal marriages to be 'celebrated' except between duly qualified and approved persons. What is the relation of tree marriage, if any, to birth rites? What are the views held in these societies of the nature and constitution of society and how do these views fit in with such practices as tree marriage? Are there any unions which are prescribed or strongly preferred, any which are proscribed, and how do these rules, each in their different kind, march with current social theories of the constitution of society and the rites which society authorises and ordains in conformity, tacit and actual or even explicit and deliberate, with those social theories? To see even savage life steadily we must endeavour to see it whole.

This note summarises the views which after long consideration I have formed on the points I raise.

The key of it all lies in the fact that those societies like the majority of those of the "lower culture" conceive themselves to be formed of constantly recurring units. Their fellows are reborn or, at least those whose cause or manner of death shows that they are fit to be reborn, are believed to return to this world.<sup>5</sup> This is proved both by direct statement and by the birth or name-giving rites.

The Santals have two systems at work. Risley states that the Santals, as the Mundas, choose by divination the name of a new born child putting to the test the names of deceased ancestors.<sup>6</sup> The other system is to give names of ancestors in regular order. (*Bengal Census Report*, 1911, page 331).

The method of divination is used to determine the identity of the child, to declare who he is, to ascertain what deceased ancestor has returned.<sup>7</sup> Those deceased ancestors are laid to rest by a great annual ceremony, and until that ceremony has been duly performed, no marriage rites (and after all marriage rites are precursors in the order of nature and of intent to birth rites,) can be performed.

We are told by Sir William Hunter that "uncharitable men and childless women were eaten eternally by worms and snakes while good men entered into fruit-bearing trees".<sup>8</sup> What trees? The annalist fails us. The trees employed in the rites of tree marriage are the mango and the *mahua*, both fruit trees, the fruit trees *par excellence* of this area. Tree marriage in this group is to me, therefore, a fertility rite, a definite specific fertility rite to enable the wedded pair to produce a deceased ancestor whose spirit is associated with the trees. Their union provides the carnal integument. The deceased ancestor comes to them from the storehouse where the discarnate spirits of departed ancestors are lodged. Until the spirits of these departed ancestors have been duly lodged in their appointed place by the great effort of the community, no marriages, no acts to procure their return, can be sanctioned by society. We know that, as elsewhere, women dying in child-birth, men killed by tigers or snakes are denied the privilege of rebrith, are for ever blotted out from the book of life.

Various views<sup>9</sup> have been current in the world's

history of the nature of heredity, and although we have arrived at a mean formula which states for large numbers the several contributions of parents and ancestors the mind of man has fashioned theories on this subject for himself.

The Bhotias of Sikkim<sup>10</sup> forbid marriages with paternal cousins because they hold that the bone descends from the father's side and the flesh from the mother's (*Bengal Census Report*, 1911 p. 326). What is the Munda view on this subject ? The Santals, we are told by Risley, have a proverb "No one heeds a cow's track or regards his mother's sept." It would be going rather further than we are entitled to go were we to assume that because they disregard the mother's clan, they do not regard the mother as aught but a field in which the seed is sown, a field which gives nothing of itself to its produce. The Santals allow what we have learnt to call sexual communism ; they have avoidance of an interesting nature but they are people who have been subjected for many years to Hindu influence and ideas.<sup>11</sup> So that it will not be improper in due course to examine Hindu ideas and to test the views enunciated above by reference to other groups, because the idea of reincarnation is widespread, must be widespread since it is due to causes which are of general operation, such as the physical evidence of similarities, and is maintained by the general fact that as compared with the life of an individual, society is eternal and changeless. It is society's own view of itself—shaped and originated by individuals but sealed and stamped

with the approval of the societies who hold it.<sup>12</sup>

So curious a custom has inevitably attracted the attention of the commentators and expositors of philosophical anthropology. Risley (*Castes & Tribes of Bengal*, I., 532) saw in this a survival of group marriage. Cold critics have declared that this is but a polite name for prostitution. Sexual communism in the more scientific phrase is practised by the Santals but I fail to see any connexion between it and tree marriage.<sup>13</sup>

Mr. Hahn attributes it to totemism,<sup>14</sup> which he connects with the belief constant in the childhood of mankind in a close relationship between man and beast and plant. After all that is only another way of stating totemism. He says that the mango and the *Mohua* are both totems though not included in his list but as this is a general rite obligatory on all who wish to go through the full and most solemn form of marriage, and as totemism is applicable to clan not tribal groups, I dismiss this explanation while admitting that at some stage or other, probably as part of the initiation of the Bachelors' Hall when the young initiate is branded or tattooed, some rites for the purpose of totemic aggregation are necessarily gone through.

Sir James Frazer (*Golden Bough* [2] I. 195.) and Mr. Crooke<sup>15</sup> (*op. cit.* II 115-29.) deem it a rite of fertility. If they will admit my view that it is a specific rite, that fertility as a general idea is not allowable to communities which are or seem deprived of the means of thinking down to such an abstrac-

tion, and that its explanation is to be sought in the definite view that the spirit part of the individual is associated with the fruit tree, and the physical home of that spirit is to be provided by the marriage, then I would agree that, as explained, it is a fertility rite of an interesting nature and one which, given the constant interchange of ideas between the lower and the higher culture in India, is likely to be imitated in places and by people who desire issue greatly as a means of relieving them of a grievous social and spiritual burden.

Mr. Crawley (*Mystic Rose*, p. 340) describes it as a case of make-believe. I do not accept this view.<sup>16</sup> It is an integral and an important part of the ritual of the cycle of life. It is meant to ensure the success of the marriage as a whole, that is, to secure the reincarnation of a deceased ancestor.<sup>17</sup>

Is it true as Van Gennep says (*Rites de passage*, p. 189.) that marriage is a rite *d'aggregation* special to the totemic clan? Tabus begin to be imposed as from marriage which are group tabus; marriage marks the entry into the full status of tribesmanship.<sup>18</sup>

I agree heartily; but even according to Mr. Hahn "der Mahua und Mango Baun sind Toteme, Verkörperungen der Ur vater und Ahnen; mit ihnen soll das junge Ehepaar verbunden werden um Ihren Segen zu empfangen bezw ihr Missfallen von sich abzuwenden." A totem is the patent of a clan. The Mango and *Mahua* are not clan totems now-a-days. Why should men of the alligator or tortoise clan obtain totemic aggregation with the alligator or tortoise by means of a union

with the totem of another clan ? It is a moment in the acquisition of full tribal status ; and all that goes with what makes up full status is there. Primarily it is the moment when a definite step is taken for the reincarnation of a departed member both of the tribe and of the clan. But there are tokens in a distinction in funerary ritual that full status is not acquired till a child is born. I regard the trees as the abode of the blessed dead, those that live on, not as embodiments of the past, and I suggest that a concrete treatment of the facts is warranted.

What then is the value and significance of totemism in the stage of culture of the Munda groups ? Is it a survival and in full authority ? Has it passed beyond the stage of survival and become a mere vestige, without active share in the general corpus of communal life ? It is an active belief, it is a group emblem, a focus therefore of communal sensibility which is strong among them, a bond of union, an object of respect. Are these sentiments inculcated before or after or by and during the marriage rites ? In the institution we call the Bachelors' Hall we have the communal elementary school and the tribal education is carried on there although the full status of master of tribal lore and tribal responsibility does not accrue until the young man has graduated in the school of matrimony and has helped to forge a fresh link in the continuity of his clan. It is in the Bachelors' Hall that the men of the tiger clan will learn their duty towards

tigers while it is noteworthy that the mango and mahua do not appear in the list of totems given by Mr Hahn for Kols and they do not seem to be mentioned by Risley as among the twelve Santal clan totems.

Among the castes in Mysore<sup>19</sup> are a number of castes which speak Dravidian languages, are totemistically organised, believe in reincarnation, give names by divination, prescribe or prefer or permit (the degrees of merit vary) marriages with their elder sister's daughter, with the daughter of the father's sister or of the mother's brother and proscribe marriages with the younger sister's daughter and with the daughter of the mother's sister or of the father's brother. Funerary practice varies according to the mode of death and the social status. Thus while the dead are generally buried those who die of leprosy and women dying pregnant are cremated, and those killed by wild animals are buried under stone heaps.<sup>20</sup> In the case of the ordinary majority, married persons are buried in a sitting position while those dying unmarried are buried in a lying posture. At their marriage rites the marriage booth has to have a post called the milk post, which we are told specifically is to "secure the continuity of the line", cut from a fig tree by the maternal uncle which he cuts with due ceremony and places at the temple in the case of those castes which are allowed to use the temple. This milk post, this device for securing the continuity of the line among groups who believe that deceased ancestors are reincarnated, is worshipped by the bride and

bridegroom during the marriage rites and is removed after fresh ceremonial. I do not cite these as cases of tree marriage but as illustrations of the working of these ideas which underlie tree marriage. Obviously this is a social reincarnation in the lower culture—quasi-physical reincarnation. The theory of reincarnation takes on a different aspect when we come to Hinduism. There it is the father who is reincarnated in his son. In the groups of the lower culture it is a deceased ancestor separated by at least a generation.

The family is the social unit in the one case, the clan in the other. The application of this doctrine finds expression in very curious extremes. Among the Nambutiri Brahmans of Malabar<sup>22</sup> only one son—the eldest—can contract a full marriage. Elsewhere I have called this by the name ‘henogamy’ and I suspect that in the case of prescribed marriages we have the same sort of idea at work. No doubt socio-psychological considerations emerge from and lend their support to practices which originate in more material social conditions and causes. The cross-cousin marriage would be the form of marriage preserved for the elder son while the younger son would get the daughter of his elder sister, and it is a part of the social side of the marriage among several of these Mysore castes that the bridegroom is made to promise his daughter to his brother-in-law. In the light of the facts that marriage regulates descent, that descent is with a very large part of the lower culture a matter of reincarnation, we ought to re-examine our existing ideas as to the true meaning

of exogamy and I shall not be surprised if the results do not lead to striking conclusions. I have put these notes together hastily as a record outline of my views. Sometime or other I may have the energy and the means of developing this scheme in full detail, but of this one thing I am sure that we must treat these customs dynamically, as part of a living whole, not statistically, not as isolated from the rest of social experience and independent of the social phenomena which may be summarised as the ritual of the cycle of life.

What is the connection,—is there in fact any connection,—of the mango and *mahua* trees, which are used in marriage rites, with funeral rites? From Crooke (*Folklore of Northern India*, II. 85 sq.) we learn that "In this connection it may be noted that many Indian tribes bury their dead in trees. The Khasias of East Bengal lay the body in the hollow trunk of a tree. The Nagas dispose of their dead in the same way or hang them in coffins to the branches. The Mariya Gonds tie the corpse to a tree and burn it. The Malers lay the corpse of a priest whose ghost often gives trouble, under a tree and cover it with leaves....The *mahua*...is the marriage tree of the Kurmis, Lohars, Mahilis, Mundas and Santals of Bengal. Many of the Dravidian races such as the Bhuiyas adore it....Some of the semi Hinduized Bengal Gonds have the remarkable custom of tying the corpses of adult males by a cord to a Mahua tree in an upright position previous to burial...The Oraons of Bengal revere the tamarind and bury their dead under

its shade. One special rite among the Dravidian races is the *Imli ghontna* or the 'grinding of the tamarind' when the mother of the bridegroom grinds on the family curry-stone some pods of the tamarind."

The mango has for its original home the slopes of the Himalayas while the *mahua* flourishes in the hotter districts now inhabited by the Munda and Dravidian people. (See *Economic Dictionary of India* in g.v. *mahua* & *mango*.) Did the Santals bring the rite of tree-burial with them in their wanderings and may we thus identify one of their halts? The subject of tree burial in Indonesia has been discussed by Mr. Perry in *Folklore*, XXVI. pt 2. He concludes (pages 151-2) that "It has also been found that tree disposal is accompanied by a myth of origin from tree or bamboos". Naturally ; but the cycle of life makes the tree a temporary resting place in its many incarnations. Nothing is more striking than the collocation--perhaps after all accidental--of the belief in rebirth, of the practice of naming children by names borne by deceased members of the group and of the rite of tree burial as found in Australia. (See Spencer and Gillen. *Northern Tribes*, p. 145, p. 174 for re-incarnation beliefs, p. 581 for names, *most important*, and p. 511 for tree burial). I may invite the attention of the anthropologist to the statement on page 512 of Spencer and Gillen's work above cited that "It is also worth noticing that they do not bury in trees any young man who has violated tribal law by taking as wife a woman who is forbidden to him ; such an individual is always buried directly in the ground". The obvious reason for this is that such

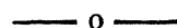
persons are rendered by their offence incapable of re-incarnation. Burial in a tree is reserved for those who are eligible for rebirth and its association with burial rites in India rests on the same sequence of ideas. The real nature of this association was first shown by me at the International Congress on the History of Religions, 1908, ( see *Archiv fur Religionswissenschaft.* XII. 447 sq. )

The situation is curious. We have in the Khasias, the Nagas, the Nicobarese and the Indonesians a line of groups now distinct in many respects where these combinations and association of belief, practice and monument are found where obviously some common influence has been at work. Perry has worked out the connection of megaliths, sun-worship and terraced cultivation (*The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia*). Here is tree-burial cropping up at these points, taking us on to Australia. The association of stone monuments with ancestors and with the maintenance of the stock is admittedly known in the Khasia and Naga groups. Does the stone replace the tree ? I can find no specific trace of association of the stone monuments with marriage rites in these two areas. They now have very faint traces of totemism whereas in Australia totemism is a living thing influencing and colouring the corpus of belief and practice (vide Durkheim *Les formes clementae do lla via religiose*, chap. VII and VIII.)

When we come to the Santals, to the Dravidian-speaking peoples adjoining the Santals, perhaps their remote kin, we find the tree prominent in the marriage rites, obligatory and universal as a part of the

primary and most important rites. This association is found in distant Mysore. Let us not forget the social features which seem to go with this combination, the cross-cousin marriage, and the classificatory system which seem to me to form a real unity—the nature of which in its relation to the re-incarnation belief and tree marriage as part of that belief I may hope to prove at length hereafter.

Though the association of trees with burial rites may not be as fully proved and clearly intelligible as is their association with the marriage rites, yet in the differing degrees with which this association exists we may find proof of the contact of two modes of thought, both derived from and resting on the belief in reincarnation. The Santals have both beliefs if we accept the evidence of Sir William Hunter (see note 8 below). The Dravidians seem with just one or two possible exceptions where both views are held to abide by the tree in marriage and to have forgotten the tree in burial rites. The Nagas have the burial association but not the marriage association. There is more than a fortuitous, if felicitous, juxtaposition in the association stated by Crooke (*supra*) of the sanctity of the tamarind tree and its use in an essential part of the marriage rites.



#### Notes.

<sup>1</sup>It is practised by folk such as the Rautias, Bagdis, and Kurmis who do not now speak a Munda language. Some groups such as the Gadabas and Savaras who speak a Munda tongue do not seem to practise tree-marriage.

<sup>2</sup>The other marriages which confer tribal legitimacy under present day conditions are stated by Risley (*Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol II. p. 229, Hahn, *Einführung in dem Gebiet bes Kols Mission*, p. 75 ).

<sup>3</sup>See *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV. p. 23.

<sup>4</sup>The Santals have never lacked the care of pious historians, and official attention has been bestowed on them at intervals when the conscience of the Bengal Government was awakened to the need for more applied anthropology.

<sup>5</sup>There is a time and a season for everything. Marriages have their appointed season because society at that stage orders its institutions methodically.

As we know, death is regarded in the lower culture as having been brought into the world by an infraction of some tabu. That view still holds ; but what death ?--The real death which is social as well as physical death, not the imitation of death which is interposed between two periods of incarnation.

<sup>6</sup>The Santals have no monopoly of this method of divining names.

<sup>7</sup>Underlying divination and astrology is there not the assumption that all phenomena are due to definite causes, an assumption which is so far scientific and seems to deny chance—the lazy thinker's residuary legatee ?. I suppose it really works out as a theory of concomitant variations. We have to trust to statistical science and sound psychology to show why it is unlucky for those that believe in it to spill the salt.

<sup>8</sup>This quotation from the *Annals of Rural Bengal*, (page 210) is represented as a statement made by intelligent people, not as a comment by or theory of the distinguished author whose very brilliancy might otherwise make us a little timid as to his soundness. I own that I am never sure what is meant by the soul in the lower culture. I think they mean a something which is material and has or is capable of having an existence of its own. It is obviously a socio-psychological concept.

<sup>9</sup>Physiological speculation must have been rife from an early period. It has been discussed by Maine (*Early Law and Custom*, p. 203 ; see also Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, p. 105 ). In considering the provenance of any custom or belief it is surely legitimate to ascertain how many answers have been or can be offered to any given question. I am sure that Andrew Lang's views as stated in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, p. 211, are relevant to the point at issue.

<sup>10</sup>I cite these views from Sikkim as evidence that some people have opinions on these matters. A little later on, the *Bengal Census Report* for 1911 (p. 415) tells us that people say (who are they ?) that madness is due to the mother and ignorance to the father.

<sup>11</sup>All individual thought is shaped by society. It expresses itself in language, the most typical social product. Note that the Khasis who speak a language belonging to a group allied to the Munda group and have preserved a fine matri-lineal system, have yet acquired a neat linguistic

device by means of which they are enabled to express abstract ideas at ease.

<sup>12</sup>Hinduism is always nibbling at the lower culture, to which it is greatly indebted. Quite recently I heard a good sound science man tell an undergraduate audience that Hinduism was not a proselytizing religion. I turned him on to Sir Alfred Lyall and the last Census Reports. He knows better now.

<sup>13</sup>I may lay myself open to a charge of inconsistency (which does not really matter) when I refuse Risley's explanation of group-marriage and yet insist on the strength of group consciousness. All the moments when the mechanism of social institutions is laid bare and revealed at work, are moments when the individual comes into contact or conflict with social consciousness which then and only then becomes active. Birth rites set the newly born child into his proper relation with society. Death rites are due when the individual takes it upon himself to be the occasion of a rupture of the social circle.

<sup>14</sup>My views on totemism are stated lower down when referring to Van Gennep's view.

<sup>15</sup>I note with interest that Crooke in his *Popular Religion of Northern India*, vol. II. p. 109, tells us that the Oraons of Bengal revere the tamarind and bury their dead in its shade. One special rite among the Dravidian races is the *imli ghontna* or the grinding of the tamarind when the mother of the bridegroom grinds on the family curry stone some pods of the tamarind. Is that all? Does not the bridegroom swallow the pods? Among the Mundas (S. C. Roy, p. 445) the bridegroom chews some mango stalks

and molasses which his mother then swallows. The juxtaposition of the tamarind as a place of burial and the use of its pods in an essential rite in the marriage complex is notable.

<sup>16</sup>Childlessness is more than a curse. It is a punishment, the result of sin. As to the influence of ideas of this order on social arrangements, see Indian law books on Adoption, and as to the creation of a system of law out of a theory of a socio-spiritual order I cite the *Dayabhaga*.

<sup>17</sup>Practical people want practical results.

<sup>18</sup>Totemism may of course be causally and organically related to exogamy but both are certainly products of social consciousness.

<sup>19</sup>The dividing line between Dravidian and Munda is linguistic. These castes (of whom excellent accounts are published by the Mysore Government and written by Mr. H. V. Nanjundayya. M. A., B. L.) include quite respectable folk and some who have immigrated from the Mahratta country and are adopting local customs as regards marriages.

<sup>20</sup>Some casual discoverer will find cemeteries where two modes of burial are found. What are the odds that his first theory on which he will waste much time and paper, will be that two different races have been at work?

<sup>21</sup>In considering the functions and privileges of special relatives I think we ought to consider the dynamics of their position. In cross-cousin marriages the maternal uncle is the future grandfather and his position in a scheme of society fashioned according to the doctrine of reincarnation is perhaps one

of the factors which determine some of his duties and rights. *Devoir avant Dreit.*

<sup>22</sup>To the belief that the father is re-incarnated in the son, do we not owe the curious custom of the *devkaj* and the mock funerals of the Kochhar Khatri. We do not get tree marriage which is practised (another distinction) where a deceased ancestor is to be reincarnated. The ceremony by which the living father transmits himself for reincarnation is the *pumsavana*, performed in the third month of pregnancy, and declared to be for the purpose of securing male offspring.

<sup>23</sup>I suggest that all cases of prescribed marriage should be examined in the light of the theory of reincarnation to which I fancy they stand in direct organic relation. A mode of prescribed marriage is practised by the Old Kukis in the Lushai Hills. The Taraus, so Colonel Shakespear tells us, are divided into four classes—Pachana (A), Tlangsha (B), Thimasha (C) and Khulpuin (D). A must wed from B, B from C, C from D and D from A. It will be seen that by female descent a girl comes back in three generations but there is a mass of evidence to which in the main text I ought to have drawn attention that women do not reincarnate. Of course in a patrilineal society the married women are strangers to the clan of their husbands, while their daughters are destined in their turn to go out to other clans. In a matrilineal society as among the Syntengs who have kept the 'niam' more carefully than the Khasis, the man's bones are restored to his clan by the wife

after his death. I find no evidence of the belief in reincarnation among the Khasis. It exists among the Nagas of Manipur and while with them there is no tree-marriage there is a complete belief in the cycle of life.

<sup>24</sup>It is equally necessary to trace the connection of beliefs in reincarnation in the views as to the origin and early homes of these people. The abode of the dead is likely to be the place where those go who are fit for and destined for reincarnation. The difference in the higher Hindu standpoint from that of the lower culture as regards reincarnation is instinctive, for the higher Hindu reincarnation is a painful consequence from which he seeks his liberation ; in the lower culture it is a reward to be desired.

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## Miscellaneous Articles.

### I. THE KHARWAR MOVEMENT AMONG THE SANTALS.

By REV. P. O. BODDING.

In the Santal Parganas there is a religious sect which sprang up about the year 1871. Those belonging to the sect call themselves *Kharwars* (or *Kherwars*) or *Sapha hor* (or *Sapai*), and now also Samra. They are also called *Babaji* or *Babajiu*, the last name being probably a Santali recoining of the first (*jiu* in Santali means 'spirit'). A statement of the origin and practices of this sect will be found in the *Santal Parganas Gazetteer*, and it is unnecessary here to repeat what is written there.

The Gazetteer contains the essentials of what was known of this sect up to about the year 1908, so far as I remember. Since that time very little has been heard of these *Kharwars*, one of the reasons for this very likely being that no great calamity has occurred in the country since the time mentioned. As stated in the Gazetteer it has always been so that the *Kharwar* movement has been stirred into new life when any great calamity affecting the whole people has occurred in the country, the cause being that such calamities are considered to be signs of the displeasure of God. We had, it is true, something approaching a famine two years ago, but very little was heard at the time of any fresh activity on the part of the *Kharwars*. This might go to show that the sect is losing ground ; it has undoubtedly been losing its hold on many of its former adherents. I know as a matter of fact that many

*Sapha* hors have relinquished the sect and gone back to ordinary Santal worship or in some cases have turned Christians.

The movement is not, however, dead; it has during latter years undergone certain developments and the followers of the sect have divided themselves into separate groups, some of them having adopted practices at variance with those they originally had. It may be mentioned that (so far as I have been able to gather) most of these people are at present found in the middle eastern parts of the district, specially in the Pakur Sub-Division, but many are found also in the north of the Dumka Sub-Division, and specially in the Godda Sub-Division from which latter part curiously enough all these movements among Santals seem to have had their origin.

The original one sect has now developed into three distinct sects, one called by the Santals *Sapai*, another *Samra* and a third *Babaiju* or *Babaji*, this last division representing the original sect.

The name *Sapai* is derived from *Sapha* which means *clean* and has reference to the original practice of these people to clean out what they were taught to consider objectionable practices.

The second name refers to the name of a village in the Godda Sub-Division of the district where the leader of this branch was living.

A common practice for all three sects is that they worship Ram Chando. *Ram* is a Hindu deity; *Chando* is Santali for Sun, but also used about

the God of the Universe, who is confounded with the Sun.

I shall in the following note mention some of the practices and fresh developments of the different sects, leaving out most of what has been mentioned in the *District Gazetteer*.

First, the *Sapai* :— They have adopted the Hindu custom of daily bathing. Some of them take their bath at sun-rise ; facing the sun they worship with the palm of the hands pressed together. Others are not so particular about the morning bath, so long as they get their bath during the day. Some of them are particular about performing their worship before they touch food in the morning, even cold food left over from the previous evening meal.

The Santals generally have some food left in this way; it is called *baskeak'* (what is cold or even stale'; it is so common that the time of about 9 o'clock in the morning is called *baskeak' ber*, 'the time for (eating) *baskeak*.'

Amongst the *Sapai* people the men only worship. The food which they partake of first in the morning must not have been prepared by women. It must be something which they have themselves cooked. Later in the day they may eat food prepared by women.

Their women every morning plaster a small circular spot with cowdung in the middle of the court-yard and also at the entrance from the village street. They take care not to be seen during this operation. This plastered bit symbolizes the

Sun. Some of their women have taken up the habit of lighting a lamp every evening after sunset, and they worship with this in their hand turning to the four corners of the world.

They do not keep fowls and pigs and do not eat these. Some of them do not use cows for ploughing. They do not drink rice-beer (what the Santals call *handi*), do not eat the flesh of dead bullocks and do not eat in the house of a Santal who does not belong to their sect.

The *guru* of the *Sapai* people is at present said to be a Santal called Ramjit of village Ambadiha in Parsanda.

When they become ill or their cattle are attacked by disease they call on Ram Chando, that they may be saved from calamities.

At the name-giving festival which is an obligatory village festival among the Santals where the headman and other village officials have to be present, the *Sapai* do not call in any outsiders, but perform the ceremony amongst themselves, only people of their own sect being present. They act in the same way at marriages. When any of their sect dies, some burn the dead, and others bury.

They meet at their *guru's* place every Saturday evening.

The *Samras*.—These have at present for their *guru* a man named Bariar from a village called Samra. Previous to him they had a man called Jasai Ram of village Kedo, but he is now dead. The *Samras* in the Sultanabad taluq of the Pakaur Sub-Division (of which I have the best information) are in the habit

of meeting once weekly on a Friday, a Saturday or a Sunday, with a local leader in a village called Parior. They always meet at night. All who come bring sugar and sweets and give these over to their leader. They then tell him of the state of their household, whether there is any sickness among themselves or their cattle. When all are together, the leader makes supplications to Ram Chando with reference to every individual's troubles and prays that all may become well. In the middle of the place where they are sitting, they plaster a small circular spot on the floor with cowdung. Here they place the sugar and sweets which they have brought and then start singing. Singing songs composed to the ordinary Santal melodies they keep it going up and down. When they finish, they divide amongst themselves the sweets they have brought with them and then go to their respective places.

It may be of interest to learn how a man becomes a *Samra* disciple. They go about it in the following way:—

If anyone wants to enter the *Samra* sect he is told that they are willing to receive him, but, on certain conditions. The applicant will have to give up the *bongas* (spirits) and behave as he is told and worship according to their custom. If he has faith and is willing to behave as demanded it will be well with him. "We tell you beforehand", they say, "If you see the truth of this faith, then in the name of Ram Chando give contributions as much as you can, whatever it may be, sugar,

sweets or money. When you give such, we shall from that day take you into our sect". If the applicant has faith in the 'tenets' of the sect, he will be finally admitted a year later. He goes to the leader and gives sugar or sweets or money, whatever he can, into his charge. When the *Samras* next come together, the leader takes the things given and invokes Ram Chando, saying ; "Now thou seest, this man also has seen your reliabilty and is from today entering among us. Help him and rescue him from all disease and sickness." After this invocation he sprinkles *Tulsi* water on the man's head, whereupon they all divide the sweets among themselves and tell the man that that day they have taken him up into their congregation.

Formerly both the *Sapai*, the *Babajiu* and the *Samra* all behaved in the same way. The *gurus* were different, but the practices were the same. This has commenced to change. The *gurus* have commenced to adopt different practices, following ideas of their own. There is no authority to guide and restrain.

The *Samras* have thus developed into a kind of exorcisers. If a Santal falls ill and there is no help to be had from the Ojha although they go from one to the other, they may go to the leader of the *Samra* sect in the hope that by his help they may recover. When they implore the *Samra guru* to help them, he proceeds in the following way:—He tells them to provide a goat or a ram, fowls or pigs besides one rupee or

one rupee four annas worth of sweets, and fixes a time when he is to go to them. On the day appointed, the *guru* takes along with him 7 to 8 disciples and goes to the house of the man who has called on him. Here they are given accommodation in the best place found in the house, whereupon the man who has called them in brings the sweets mentioned. Having received these the *guru* mutters a *bakher* ( invocation of spirits ), whereupon he and his disciples eat the sweets. In the evening a man of the house will bring them a he-goat or a ram, whichever he has been able to secure. The *guru* thereupon beheads the sacrificial animal, and they ask the man of the house for as much rice as they need. The *guru* and his disciples now cook the flesh of the sacrificed animal together with the rice in whatever way they like and eat it among themselves alone. They do not permit the men of the house or anybody else to partake of it with them. After eating they commence singing and spend the whole night until dawn singing and also make the men and the women of the house sing with them. The following day they tell them to plaster a fairly large circular space in the courtyard with cowdung. The *guru* and his disciples sit down on this spot and all the inmates of the house, both male and female, have to sit down there. The *guru* and his disciples have with them a small cane about a span long or a little more. Whatever they may have more than is needed for themselves they give to the inmates of the house. With this bit of cane they draw on the ground the picture

of a mam and sing songs against the spirits and the witches and the *bhuts*. They spit on that drawing and trample on it. All of them do this. In this way they adjure and spit at the spirits and the witches and trample on them to drive them away. They keep it going for a long time in this way, singing and drawing pictures, spitting and trampling on them. The songs are composed for the occasion to one or other of the common Santal melodies, whichever tune the *guru* may start. They invoke Ram Chando in their songs. Thereupon the *guru* calls for a motley fowl which he causes to feed on rice in a magic circle. All fowls to be sacrificed by the Santals, are, it may be noted, previous to the beheading, made to feed on rice on a magic spot. Now the *guru* calls on the women of every different sept found living in that house and orders them to apply *sindur* to the fowl. After they have finished this he takes the fowl away outside to a distance and sacrifices the fowl there. After his coming back to the house they all eat and drink.

Thereupon a pig is brought, and in the same way as with the fowl the *guru* orders the inmates of the house to apply *sindur* to the pig; at the door leading out to the village street they now dig a fairly deep ditch, and here they bury this pig alive. Having finished all this, the *guru* and his disciples return to their respective places saying as they go, "From today we have driven your *bongas* or witches away; live according to the rules of this sect and invoke Ram Chando in good

days and bad days. Don't worship the *bongos*; then every thing will be well with you."

The divergent developments referred to may be of some religio-psychological interest. The people here mentioned are so far I know all Santals by birth and live in the midst of Santals; their ideas of a spiritual world and man's relations with it have their roots in the religion of their people. Like many others of their people they are losing or have lost faith in their old *bongas*, and turn elsewhere to seek what they want. There are principally three directions to which they may turn, Mohammedanism, Hinduism (in its popular forms) and Christianity; they are in constant daily contact with representatives of these three religions.

They are not likely to turn to the first. There are examples of Santal women who have become wives of Mohammedans, and have consequently embraced Mohammedanism; but I do not remember having heard this of Santal men. There is in the Santal people a remarkable abhorence against what they call the *Turuk* (that is, the old Musalman cavalry). This practically places a bar between them and Mahomedanism.

The directions to which they will turn will be the two other religions mentioned. Now it is not possible for an outsider to become a Hindu, although it might be possible for a number of persons to establish themselves as a new Hindu caste with a fictitious story of their origin. We have examples of this in this district and elsewhere.

Apparently they do not wish to go to such lengths. Neither do they wish to embrace Christianity. So they try to strike out new lines of their own, building on part of their old beliefs, taking something from the one and something else from the other of the religions mentioned. Hindu influences are easily recognized ; some of the general ideas and practices are taken from the Hindu system. The Christian influences are just as evident. This is not to be wondered at. There are few Santals who are not familiar with Christian preaching, and the starter of the original movement either was a fallen Christian or had been under Christian influence in a Mission school.

To show the Christian influence, one or two of their songs may be quoted.

In one they sing: "Chando the Father, Chando the Son, Chando the Soul or Spirit"; (it may be of interest to note that formerly one Santal Mission used "Soul" for "spirit" when mentioning the Trinity and the original starter of the movement, Bhagrit, had been under the influence of this Mission). "He is—

The three Chando one Chando—

He is the Ram Chando of the kings,  
The wheel (i. e. round) Chando of mankind."

In another: "In this world there is trouble, affliction ; in the other (next) world there is anxiety:

Come let us go to the Heaven-world ;  
In Heaven is the world of content and pleasure,  
—all (the goods of this) world ;

Come let us go to the Heaven-world." The movement is interesting. It shows a man-made religious faith in its inception. It seems however as if the stage of decay has already set in.

## II. INDIAN PALÆOLITHS.

BY REV. P. O. BOODING.

Some years ago during a short stay in Madras I paid a visit to the Museum there.

I had read about the large collection of stone implements there and wanted specially to see this. The collection is certainly most interesting.

So far as I can remember the stone implements were classified as palæolithic, and it is this I wish to say a few words about. I have myself collected many hundreds of stone implements in the Santal Parganas. They are all of the neolithic type. I have, however, got hold of two specimens of very much the same type as those in the Madras Museum. Not being more than a collector of these implements I also started with the impression that these specimens were palæolithic. When I showed one of them to an expert at home, he at once told me that I was wrong. The specimen according to his verdict was not a palæolithic implement, but an unfinished neolithic stone implement. It might be of interest to get this question looked into and settled.

### III. KHASI KINSHIP TERMS.

BY THE EDITOR.

In a highly interesting article on "The Khasi and Garo Marriage systems" published in the last issue of this Journal Col. T. C. Hodson discussed certain kinship terms of those tribes in order to show how their terminology of relationship is intimately connected with and actually determined by their respective social organisations, particularly their marriage relations. As a complete list of Khasia kinship terms may be of interest to the readers of that article and generally to students of Social Anthropology, I give below a list of such terms that I collected by the genealogical method during a month's stay in the Khasi hills. My principal informant was the old ex-Siem of Cherra. I need hardly say that the terms 'brother' and 'sister' in the following table is used in a classificatory sense.

The unit of the Khasi social system, as every student of Indian ethnology is aware, is the *iing* (literally, house or family) consisting of the *Kiaw* or grand-mother (called *Ka Iawbei Khynrāw*), her daughters and their children. Out of this appear to have evolved first the *Kpoh* (now translated as 'sub-clan') consisting of the descendants of one great-grandmother (called *Ka Iawbei Tymmen*), and then the *Kur*, *Khong*, *Jong*, or *Jaid*,—that is to say, the clan consisting of one common ancestress (*Ki Iawbei Tynrai*) and forming an exogamous and apparently totemic group.

## I. SPEAKER'S OWN GENERATION.

<i>English term of relationship.</i>	<i>Khasia term for the relationship.</i>	<i>Khasia term for addressing the relative.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Older brother ...	U Hymmen	Bah! Ko Bah! Kongbah!	
Eldest brother ...	... Bah rangbah	Ko bah!	
Elder (but not the eldest) brother	... Bah khynnah	Ko bah!	
Younger brother ...	... Para	Ko hep!	
Youngest brother	... Para	Ko hep!	
Father's elder sister's son ...	... Bah ; Bah Kha	Ko bah ! Ko bah kha! (if older)	
Father's younger sister's son ...	..."	Ko hep (if younger) !	
Mother's elder or younger sister's son	... { Hymmen (if older than the speaker) Para (if younger) Ba kha	" Ko bah !	
Mother's (elder or younger) brother's son ...	...	Ko hep ! (Ko bah (if older) ! (Ko hep (if younger) !	
Husband's elder sister's husband	... U hymmen	Ko hep ! (Ko hep (if older) ! (Ko hep (if younger) !	
Husband's elder brother	... Hymmen kynsi	Ko kong !	
Husband's younger brother ...	... Para kynsi	Ko hep !	
Wife's (older or younger) sister's husband ...	... Shi para tngga	[Addressed by name]	
Husband's younger sister's husband	... Para	Ko hep !	
(Man's) elder sister's husband ...	... Kyanun	Ko um !	
(Woman's) elder sister's husband	... Hymmen kynsi	Ko Kong !	

(Man's) younger sister's husband	Kyanum	...	Ko um!
(Woman's) younger sister's husband	Para, kynsi	...	Ko hep!
Wife's younger brother	Kyanum	...	Ko um!
Wife's elder brother	Kyanum	...	Ko um!
Mother's sister's son	Bah (if older) Para (if younger)	...	Ko bah! Ko hep!
Former wife's second husband or former husband's second wife, or wife's younger sister's husband.	Shi Para tngā U tngā Ko tngā	...	(Addressed by name) So-and-so's father So-and-so's mother Ko kong!
Husband	...	...	
Wife...	...	...	
(Woman's) sister's husband's elder brother.	U Hymmen kynsei	...	
(Woman's) sister's husband's younger brother	U hymmen kynsi (if older) U Para kynsi(if younger) Bewai	...	Ko kong (if older)! Ko hep (if younger)! Ko bewai!
Son's wife's father	...	...	
Daughter's husband's father	...	...	Ko bewai!
Husband's elder brother	U hymmen kynsei	...	Ko kong!
Husband's younger brother	U para kynsei	...	Ko hep!
Wife's elder brother	Kynnum	...	Ko um!
Wife's younger brother	"	...	"
Wife's sister's husband	Shi para mynshongkha Para kynthei	...	(by name) Ko hep!
Younger sister	Hymmen kynthei; ko kong klynnah (if not the eldest)	...	
Elder sister	...	...	Ko kong!
Eldest sister	...	...	"
Husband's elder brother's wife	Kong rang bah Ka para kynsei	...	Ko kong!

<sup>1</sup> No general term appears to be used to indicate a 'brother' or a 'sister'.

<i>English term of relationship.</i>	<i>Khasia term for the relationship.</i>	<i>Khasia term for addressing the relative.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Mother's elder brother's daughter	... Ba kha	Ko ba kha !	
Mother's younger brother's " "	... , " Para kha	" Kong (if older) ! Ko hep (if younger) !	
Mother's elder sister's "	... , " Myngkew		
Mother's younger sister's "	... , " Kā para, or Myngkew Shi para, tnga ; Shi para mynshongkha	Ko hep !	(Addressed by name)
Husband's sister ...	... U Hymmen kynsei Ba kha	Ko kong ! Ko ba kha !	
Husband's brother's wife ...	... , " Kā Hymmen (if older) Kā Para (if younger) }	Ko kong ! Ko hep ! }	
Husband's elder sister ...	... , " Kong	" Kong !	
Father's elder sister's daughter	... Para kynsi	Ko hep !	
Father's younger sister's "	... Para kynsi	Ko hep !	
Father's elder brother's "	... Ka hymmen kynsi Para kpa	Ko kong ! ——— Ka hymmen	
Father's younger brother's "	... , " Ka para	Ko kong ! Ko hep !	
Wife's elder sister ...	... , " Para kynsi		
Wife's younger sister ...	... Para kynsi		
Younger brother's wife ...	... Ka hymmen kynsi		
Elder brother's "	... Para kpa		
Son's wife's parents ...	... Ka hymmen		
Elder sister ...	... Ka para		
Younger sister ...	... Ka para		

II. GENERATION NEXT ABOVE THE SPEAKER.

Father	...	...	U kpa	Ko pa !
Step-father	...	...	Kpa nah	Ko pa nah !
Father's elder brother	...	...	Kpa san	Ko pa san !
Father's younger brother	...	...	Kpa nah (or, kpa khynnah)	{ Ko pa nah ! or, Ko pa khynnah !
Father's elder sister's husband	...	Ma	Ko ma !	
Father's younger sister's husband	...	"	Kpa nah	Ko pa nah !
Mother's " "	"	"	Kpa san	Ko pa san !
Mother's elder	"	"	Kni	
Mother's brother...	...	"	Ma rangbah	Ko ma rangbah !
Mother's elder brother	...	"	{ Ma rangbah (if older) Ma khynnah (if younger)	Ko ma rangbah (if older) ! Ko ma khynnah (if younger) youngger in age.) !
Husband's Father	...	Kthaw	Ko kthaw !	
Wife's father	...	U Kthaw ; kthaw kurim	"	
Mother	...	Ka kmie	Ko mei !	
Step-mother	...	Mei-nah	Ko mei nah !	
Father's brother's wife	...	Knia ; syngken	Ko knia !	
Father's elder brother's wife	...	Mei san	Ko mei san !	
Father's younger brother's wife	...	Kmie nah	Ko nah !	
Mother's younger sister	...	" , or kmie khynnah	" , "	
Mother's elder sister	...	Kmie san	Ko mei san !	
Mother's elder brother's wife...	...	Kha, or kha rangbah	Ko kha !	
Mother's brother's wife	...	{ Ka knia ; ka syngken ; kha ; knia kha .	Ko kha !	

<i>English term of relationship.</i>	<i>Khasia term for the relationship.</i>	<i>Khasia term for addressing such relative.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Mother's younger brother's wife	... Kha, or kha khymah	Ko kha !	
Father's elder sister	... Kha rangbah ; knia kha	Ko kha !	
Father's younger sister	... Kha rit .	Ko kha rit !	
Wife's mother ...	... { I kiaw, Syngken kurim, (or, ka kiaw kurim	Ko kiaw !	
Husband's mother	... "	"	

III. GENERATION NEXT BELOW THE SPEAKER.

Child...	...	...	...	Khymnah shyureng [son] Khynnah kynthei [girl] Khun-ruit	Ko khun !
Step-child	"	"	"	"	"
Husband's brother's son	"	"	"	U Khun Khun ruit	"
Son	"	"	"	"	"
Man's elder brother's son	"	"	"	"	"
Man's younger brother's son	"	"	"	"	"
Woman's elder brother's son	"	"	"	"	"
Woman's younger	"	"	"	"	"
Man's elder sister's son	"	"	"	"	"
Man's younger sister's son	"	"	"	"	"
Daughter's husband	"	"	"	Pyrsa kurim Khun ruit U khun ruit	Ko pyrsa ! Ko khun !
Wife's brother's son	"	"	"	"	"
Woman's elder sister's son	"	"	"	"	"
Woman's younger sister's son	"	"	"	"	"
Daughter	"	"	"	Ka khun	"
Man's elder brother's daughter	"	"	"	"	"
Woman's elder	"	"	"	Ka pyrsa	Ko pyrsa !
Man's younger	"	"	"	Ka khun ruit	Ko khun !
Woman's	"	"	"	Ka pyrsa	Ko pyrsa !
Man's elder sister's daughter	"	"	"	"	"
Woman's elder	"	"	"	"	"
Man's younger	"	"	"	"	"
Woman's younger sister's daughter's	"	"	"	Khun	Ko khun !
Son's wife	"	"	"	Ka pyrsa	Ko pyrsa !
Man's brother's wife's sister	"	"	"	(Hyynnem (if older) (Para kynsi (if younger))	Ko kong ! Ko hep !
Husband's sister's son or daughter	"	"	"	Pyrsa, ka khun ruit	Ko pyrsa !
Woman's brother's wife's sister	"	"	"	(Hyynnem (if older) (Para kynsi (if younger))	Ko kong ! Ko hep !

## IV. THIRD GENERATION ABOVE THE SPEAKER.

<i>English term of relationship.</i>	<i>Khasia Term for the relationship.</i>	<i>Khasia Term for addressing the relative.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Father's father ...	... Parad ; kpa kha ; kthaw	Ko parad !	
Father's father's brother ...	... " Kthaw ; kpa hep ( old men generally )	" "	
Mother's father ...	... Kthaw kuri	" "	
Mother's father's brother	... "	"	
Husband's father's father	... "	"	
Husband's mother's father	... "	"	
Wife's father's father	... "	"	
Wife's mother's father	... Ka kiaw ; Kmei kha mei hep ( generally for old women )	Ko mei rad !	
Father's mother ...	... "	"	
Mother's mother ...	... Kiaaw	Ko kiaw !	
Husband's father's mother	... "	Kmei rad !	
Husband's mother's mother	... "	"	
Wife's father's mother	... "	"	
Wife's mother's mother	... "	"	

## V. THIRD GENERATION BELOW THE SPEAKER,

Grand child	...	...	...	Ksiew	Ko ksiew !
Son's son	...	...	...	U Ksiew	"
Daughter's son	...	...	...	"	"
Son's daughter's husband	...	...	...	Pyrsa	Ka pyrsa !
Daughter's daughter's husband	...	...	...	"	"
Sister's son's daughter's husband	...	...	...	"	Ko bah men !
Sister's son's son ...	...	...	...	"	Ko ksiew Ko khun !
Son's daughter	...	...	...	Kn Ksiew	Ko ksiew !
(Woman's) sister's son's daughter	...	...	...	"	"
(Woman's) sister's daughter's daughter	...	...	...	Ksiew	Ko ksiew !
Daughter's daughter	...	...	...	"	"
Grand nephew or niece on the father side	...	...	...	U'Ksiew	"
," " on the mother side...	...	...	...	Pyrsa-ksiew	"
Son's son's wife	...	...	...	Para-ksiew	"
Daughter's son's wife	...	...	...	Pyrsa	"
Sister's son's daughter	...	...	...	Ba tummen	Ko bah men !
Sister's daughter's daughter	...	...	...	"	"

## VI. FOURTH GENERATION ABOVE THE SPEAKER.

<i>English term of relationship.</i>	<i>Khasia term for the relationship.</i>	<i>Khasia term for addressing the relative.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Father's father's father	...	Pa ; tummen, Parad, or Kthaw	Ko parad !
Father's mother's father	...	..."	"
Mother's father's father	...	..."	"
		Paheb (respectful application for an old man); Parad, Pa tummen	
Mother's mother's father	...	...	Ka Lawbei ; Mei ; tummen
Father's father's mother	...	...	Ko mei rad !
Father's mother's mother	...	...	"
Mother's father's mother	...	...	"
Mother's mother's mother	...	...	"
VII. FOURTH GENERATION BELOW THE SPEAKER			
Son's son's son	...	...	Ksiew tun
Son's daughter's son	...	..."	"
Daughter's son's son	...	..."	"
Daughter's daughter's son	...	..."	"
Son's daughter's daughter	...	..."	"
Daughter's daughter's daughter	...	..."	"
Son's son's daughter	...	..."	"
Daughter's daughter's daughter	...	..."	"
Daughter's son's daughter	...	..."	"

## Students' Section.

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*N. B.*

This new section, intended for the benefit of beginners in the study of Anthropology, will henceforth form a permanent feature of this journal.

## **TYPES OF CULTURAL THEORY.\***

**By the Editor.**

The science of Anthropology is broadly divided into two branches, Physical Anthropology and Cultural Anthropology.

Physical Anthropology attempts to examine the probable course of the evolution of man as an animal,

Scope of forces or factors that may have  
Physical guided or influenced that course.

Anthropology. It seeks to retrace, so far as possible, the successive steps in the process of the emergence of the distinctively human body and human intelligence, and to understand the process of man's differentiation into distinct physical types or races and his distribution over the habitable earth.

Cultural Anthropology attempts the no less intricate task of retracing, so far as possible, the probable

Scope of course followed in the evolution of  
Cultural the mental life of man—of his mental achievement or culture from its

Anthropology. earliest inferrable beginnings, and seeks to understand, so far as possible, the forces or factors either in the physical or mental constitution of man or in his physical or social environment that may have guided or influenced the course of that evolution.

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\* The present paper is adapted from a Lecture delivered by the Editor to the students of the Patna University.

In a series of articles of which this is the first, it is proposed to present the student with a general elementary view of Cultural Anthropology, the method it follows, and the results it has hitherto achieved. In the present introductory paper which I have named "Types of Cultural Theory," I propose to introduce the student to the chief current theories of the origin and development of human culture.

The term 'Culture' is, I need hardly say, the ethnological name for civilization, and, **Definition of Culture.** according to Tylor's famous definition, stands for "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society".

The appropriateness of the use of the word 'evolution' (in the sense of a gradual orderly improvement or development occurring **Evolution theory of Culture.** under definite laws) in connection with the cultural history of man has been a topic of controversy in recent years. An earlier generation of ethnologists such as, Bachofen, Tylor, Lubbock, Morgan, Bastian, Waitz and others were impressed with the astonishing similarity of cultural features among different human groups separated by oceans and continents, as also with the occurrence of apparently meaningless customs and usages in civilized communities which could only be understood as 'survivals' or 'vestiges' of older customs having their analogues in the existing customs of primitive folk in different parts of the world. With untiring zeal they set themselves to comparing,

co-ordinating, classifying and systematizing all available cultural data collected from various parts of the globe by the study of existing primitive tribes, of archaeological remains and of ‘survivals’ and ‘vestiges’ of an earlier culture in modern civilization. As a result of their patient tabulation, comparison and synthesis of the imperfect data then within their reach, they arrived at a seemingly coherent view of the cultural evolution of mankind.

The chief instrument of research of this evolutionary school of Anthropology has been the comparative method. This is the method **The Comparative Method in Anthropology.** that notes the similarities and the differences between the cultural features of the different human groups inhabiting the world, classifies, analyses and correlates them, and, by excluding what is local or temporary, determines features common to mankind at large. In a paper “On a method of investigating the Development of Institutions as applied to the Laws of Marriage and Descent”, read before the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, in 1889, Dr. Tylor elucidated this comparative or statistical method in Ethnology. He explained how this method scheduled out the particular rules and customs of different peoples into tables so as to indicate the “adhesions” or relations of co-existence of each custom, showing which peoples had the same customs, and what customs accompanied it or lay apart from it. If starting with any two customs the number of their “adhesions” was found to be much greater than the number of times they would

co-exist according to the ordinary law of chance-distribution (the number being calculated from the total number of peoples classified and the number of occurrences of each custom) we might infer that there is some causal connection between the two customs<sup>1</sup>.

The similarity of different cultural features in widely-separated areas was generally attributed by this evolutionist school to the similarity Psychological of the working of the human mind unity of Mankind. in similar conditions, and in a few instances to migration from a common original home. It was held that, however wide apart in space two or more human groups might be, given similar conditions, similar customs and institutions would come into existence and develop on the same lines. The differences in the degree of development and the peculiar features of particular cultures were attributed mainly to climatic and general geographic control—to differences in external physical environment which was then believed to have been the dominant factor in organic evolution. The successive stages of the cultural development of man were arranged in an evolutionary series which represented human society as having developed through well-defined sociological types from the simple to the more complex.

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*Vide Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. XVIII  
( 1889 ) pp. 245-269.*

The great American anthropologist, Lewis Henry Morgan was the first to formulate in his work on *Ancient Society* (1877) an elaborate scheme of the successive stages of the cultural evolution of mankind, corresponding to definite ethnical periods. The three well-recognised cultural conditions of Savagery, Barbarism and Civilization were subdivided by him into seven phases, namely—

- (I) the Lower status of Savagery ;
- (II) the Middle status of Savagery ;
- (III) the Upper status of Savagery ;
- (IV) the Lower status of Barbarism ;
- (V) the Middle status of Barbarism ;
- (VI) the Upper status of Barbarism ; and, finally,
- (VII) the Status of Civilization.

*The Lower or Earlier Status of Savagery* is represented as having commenced with the infancy of the human race when mankind were living in their original home in a restricted tropical territory and subsisting upon raw nuts and fruits and ended with the acquisition of a fish subsistence and a knowledge of the use of fire. Articulate speech was developing. The earliest flint and stone implements are estimated to date at least from this period.

*The Middle Status of Savagery* is stated to have commenced with the acquisition of a fish subsistence and a knowledge of the use of fire, and ended with the invention of the bow and the arrow. While in this condition, mankind is said to have dispersed from the original habitat to different lands, with no

better weapons than rough stone hatchets or crude spears. The Australian Blacks and most of the Polynesian tribes are said to have been still at this stage when they were first discovered by Europeans a few generations ago.

*The Upper or Later Status of Savagery* is said to have commenced with the invention of the bow and the arrow and ended with the invention of the art of pottery. The commencement of village life with some degree of control over subsistence, the use of a meat diet and some sort of clothing, wooden vessels and utensils, finger weaving with filaments of bark, basket making, and canoe-building and perhaps tent-making, probably make their appearance in this cultural period. Such tribes as the Athapascans of the Hudson's Bay Territory, the American Indian tribes of the valley of the Columbia and certain coast tribes of North and South America are said to have been found in this stage by the first European visitors to the New World.

*The Lower or Earlier Status of Barbarism* is said to have commenced with the manufacture of pottery,—by original invention in some tribes and adoption in others,—and ended in the Eastern hemisphere with the domestication of animals, and, in the Western, with the cultivation of maize and other plants by irrigation, together with the use of adobe-brick and stone in house-architecture. The Indian tribes of the United States east of the Missouri and such tribes of Europe and Asia as practise the art of pottery but are without domestic

animals are assigned by Morgan to this Lower stage of Barbarism.

*The Middle Status of Barbarism* is said to have commenced with the domestication of animals in the Eastern hemisphere, and in the Western with cultivation by irrigation and the use of adobe-brick and stone in house-building and ended with the invention of the process of smelting iron ore. In a pastoral or shepherd's life man had no longer to depend for food on the precarious spoils of the chase. And the camel and the horse by providing unwonted facilities for journeys to hitherto inaccessible regions facilitated the exchange of artefacts and ideas. Such tribes as the Village Indians of New Mexico, Mexico, Central America and Peru, and such tribes in Europe and Asia as possessed domestic animals but were without a knowledge of iron, are said to belong to this phase of culture.

*The Upper or Later Status of Barbarism* is said to have commenced with the manufacture of iron and ended with the invention of a phonetic alphabet, and the use of writing in literary composition with which civilization begins. The Grecian tribes of the Homeric age, the Italian tribes shortly before the founding of Rome, and the Germanic tribes of the time of Cæsar, are referred by Morgan to this Upper Stage of Barbarism.

Finally, we have the *Status of Civilization* which commenced with the use of either a phonetic alphabet or hieroglyphical writing, and the production of literary records.

As with respect to the arts of subsistence so with respect to the principal social and domestic institutions connected with the family, Morgan formulated an elaborate scheme<sup>2</sup> of Evolution of the family and social institutions. the successive hypothetical stages of human progress from a supposed stage of promiscuous intercourse proceeding first to what he calls the Consanguine or Malayan family based upon the supposed intermarriage of brothers and sisters in a group, next to what he calls the Punaluan or Hawaiian family founded upon the supposed intermarriage of several brothers, own or collateral, to each other's wives in a group and of several sisters, own or collateral, to each other's husbands in a group, then to the so-called Syndyasmian or pairing family founded upon the marriage of a male with a female under the form of marriage but without an exclusive cohabitation, then to the Patriarchal family or the marriage of one man to several wives, and finally to what he calls the 'Monogamian' family founded upon marriage between single pairs with an exclusive cohabitation. I shall not here enter into the details of these hypothetical sequences of marriage-forms and family systems nor refer at this stage to the theory of an original mother-right and matriarchal family formulated by Morgan's contemporaries Bachofen and McLennan, or to the simpler theories of their successors based on the results of later research. Suffice it to say that anthropologists of the evolutionary school are

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<sup>2</sup> *Ancient Society*, (New York, 1907), pp. 499-500.

now generally agreed that although the primitive family was not such a close-knit organization as the family in later times, individual marriage, much as we now find it among such comparatively primitive tribes as the Veddas of Ceylon or the Bushmen of South Africa, and not promiscuity or group-marriage, was the rule in early human society, although the relative importance of the father and the mother was in the beginning presumably different from what it is now. Thus, the root idea in all evolutional schemes of cultural progress is that of a regular series of gradually advancing stages based on the uniformity of the workings of the human mind which enabled different human groups to produce, in similar conditions, the same inventions, and to develop similar institutions from the same original "germs of thought" as Morgan calls them or "elementary ideas" as Bastian terms them.

In these generalized schemes of the cultural evolution of man through a fixed series of stages,

the orthodox evolutionists would

**Scale of Cultural Progress.** assign their respective places to different existing tribes and communities.

And it is asserted that the condition of the different tribes and nations in these several ethnic periods virtually represents the different stages of culture through which the ancestors of the present day civilized peoples have passed. "Like the successive geological formations", says Morgan, "the tribes of mankind may be arranged, according to their relative conditions, into successive strata"<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p

The orthodox evolutionist position could not perhaps be better put than in Morgan's words :— "Modern institutions plant their roots in the period of barbarism into which the germs were transmitted from the previous period of savagery. They have had a lineal descent through the ages with the stream of the blood as well as a logical development". "So essentially identical are the arts, institutions and mode of life in the same status upon all the continents that the archaic form of the principal domestic institutions of the Greeks and Romans must now be sought in the corresponding institutions of the American aborigines. This fact forms a part of the accumulating evidence tending to show that the principal institutions of mankind have been developed from a few primary germs of thought; and that the course and manner of their development was pre-determined as well as restricted within narrow limits of divergence by the natural logic of the human mind and the necessary limitations of his powers."<sup>4</sup>

The Evolutionary or Psychological school, as we have seen, regards psychology or the laws of human thought as alone capable of explaining its own products. One writer (Dr. D. J. Brinton) says, "The human mind seems to be a machine; give it the same materials and it will infallibly grind out the same product". Another (Dr. A. H. Post) lays down as a fundamental maxim of ethnology that "We do not think; thinking only goes on within us".

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<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18. Chap. I.

This rigid determinism and a too absolute classification of the earlier evolutionist school which takes little account of tribal migrations and the transmission of cultural elements from

**Defects of the  
Early Evolution-  
ary theory of  
Culture.**

one people or area to another and the intermixtures of races and cultures, was, however, soon found to be incompatible with all the ascertained ethnological facts.

It was discovered that similar cultural features did not everywhere spring from the same cause and that different ethnic groups have not always advanced in culture in the same uniform order. It was found that no hard and fast line could be always drawn between savagery and barbarism or barbarism and civilization and that the course of cultural advance has seldom proceeded in a straight line from one dominant sociological type to another : On the other hand, it was found to exhibit, in even a greater degree than man's physical evolution, an irregular alternation of progress and retrogression, of tardy marches, temporary halts, backward slips and occasional forward leaps and sudden transformations. The evolutionary or psychological interpretation of cultural phenomena as conditioned solely and absolutely by the psychological unity of mankind came to be regarded by many anthropologists as inadequate.

A reaction followed the indiscriminate and often unscientific habit of stretching evolutionary generalisations too far. A school of **The German School** ethnologists arose in Germany who proclaimed an open revolt against the orthodox evolutionary school, although the latter

counted amongst its number not only almost all the eminent English and French anthropologists but such distinguished German anthropologists as Adolf Bastian who succeeded Virchow as President of the Berlin Anthropological Society, and whose great work on *The Peoples of Eastern Asia* and various publications on the psychological problems presented by primitive superstitions are of absorbing interest, and Waitz who, in 1859, in his *Anthropologie der Naturvolker* insisted on the importance of the psychic life of mankind and its relation to the physical organization. The New German school was started by Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904) with the publication of his *Anthropo-Geographie* (1882-91) and supported by Elsée Reclus (1820-1865) in his *Nouvelle Geographie Universelle* (1879-1894), and was greatly advanced by the researches of such scholars as Graebner, Foy, Frobenius, Ehrenreich and Pater Schmidt.

This school originally called by its adherents the Geographical or Anthropo-geographical school, for it laid particular stress on the influence of geographical environment on human culture, is now better known to us in its advanced form under the more appropriate name of the Ethnological school—a name first applied to it by the eminent English anthropologist Dr. W. H. R.

**The Ethnological Theory of Culture.** Rivers, in 1911, in his Presidential Address to the Anthropological section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. According to this school, ethnology is primarily a historical science

whose business is to arrange its facts in their chronological sequences. Its appropriate method of research is said to be the historical method as it has to trace out the historical relationships of cultures and thereby explain their similarities.

This new school flouted the orthodox doctrine of an independent and parallel evolution of cultural phenomena based on the fundamental similarity of the operations of the human mind all over the world. Ratzel ridiculed this idea of independent evolution as the anthropological analogue of the now-discarded biological theory of spontaneous generation advocated by an older school of biologists.

**Influence of Cultural contact and Racial Inter-mixture.** Cultural resemblances which the evolutionary or psychological school of anthropologists would attribute to independent evolution due to the psychic likeness of all members of the human race and the consequent community of thought, are explained by the new ethnological school as the result of direct transmission from one people to another either through chance contact and borrowing or through a more intimate blending of cultures (*kulturmixtus*) or racial admixture. Tribal migrations from place to place are regarded by this school as a powerful agent in the production of even virtually new cultures. And 'culture areas' are assumed to have sprung up through such migrations and the consequent fusion of unrelated cultures. Dr. Graebner goes so far as to attribute to a process of transmission cultural resemblances occurring even in widely separated regions in which historical contact is not known to

have ever occurred. Dr. Schmidt, however, would go with him only so far as areas with general affinities of culture are concerned; for the rest he adheres to the doctrine of independent origin.

The Psychological school and the Ethnological or Historical school.

As for English anthropologists, they have, on the whole, adhered to the evolutionary view-point and the comparative method of investigation into the history of human culture. Similar cultural features in different regions are generally

referred by them, as I said, either to a common origin or to parallel evolution resulting from the fundamental homogeneity of the human mind. In the words of Dr. Rivers, "In every case where British anthropologists see evolution, either in the forms of material objects or in social and religious institutions, the modern German school sees only the evidence of mixture of cultures, either with or without an accompanying mixture of races to which these cultures belonged"<sup>5</sup>.

The immense difference of attitude and method which separates

Difference in the View-point of the two schools, illustrated.

the psychological or evolutionary school of England from the ethnological or historical school of Germany is well illustrated by Dr. Rivers by their respective theories

regarding primitive decorative art. Students of archaeology and art-forms are all familiar with the transition in decorative art from designs representing human, animal or plant forms to purely geometrical

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<sup>5</sup> Annual Presidential Address to the Anthropological section of the British Association, 1911.

patterns. Whereas the English school sees in these transitions "evidence of an independent process of evolution based on psychological tendencies common to mankind",—evidence of "an evolutionary process which in all parts of the world has led mankind to what may be called the degradation and conventionalisation of human, animal or plant designs so that in course of time they become mere geometrical forms", the German school regard these transitions as the result of the inter-mixture of cultures and of races—as "examples of the blending of two cultures, one possessing the practice of decorating their objects with human, animal or plant designs, while the art of the other is based on the use of geometrical forms".

Amid the chorus of admiring support of the evolutionary theory in England,

**English Anthropologists.** Dr. Rivers has been the first English anthropologist to sound a discordant note—a note not exactly of dissent but of

caution and warning. He first pointedly called attention to the inadequacy of the psychological hypothesis of the 'fundamental similarity of the working of the human mind' to explain by itself alone the similarity of customs and institutions in different parts of the globe, and to recognize the important part played by cultural contact and the intermixture of races and cultures. And eminent English anthropologists like Dr. Elliot Smith and Dr. Haddon have also called attention to the significance and importance of racial admixture and the blending of cultures. Dr. Rivers and other English anthropologists of his school do not however under-rate the essential import-

ance of the psychological study of customs and institutions, but advocate the combination of both psychological and ethnological analyses of cultures as the proper method for the elucidation of the origin and history of human institutions and as a sound basis for evolutionary generalisations.

Although such writers as Le Play, Demolius and others in France laid great stress on the influence of environment in culture, French

**French anthropologists generally agree with Anthropologists:** the evolutionary view of culture held by the English school, but differ  
**The Sociological School.** from that school in so far as they

now substitute a reference to the psychology of the group in place of the pyschology of the individual. This Sociological School of French anthropologists of which Prof. Emile Durkheim and Levy Bruhl are the leading exponents hold that inasmuch as human custom and human institution are all social phenomena their origin and development have to be explained not by a reference to individual psychic phenomena but to what they call the social mind or the internal consciousness of the social environment so to say. The accumulated intellectual conceptions and emotional attitudes of the group—the folk-ways or ways of thinking and feeling of the social mil which constitute its social tradition or public opinion—constrain, control and direct the thought and action of the individual. This social mind is considered to be the key to the adaptive processes of the social life ; and all cultural and social

phenomena and their development, it is held, can be understood only through it.

In England, too, a few eminent sociologists like Hobhouse and Westermarck have recently emphasized the significance of the group mind in the formation and control of the individual mind. They have employed the sociological method of mass-interpretation of social phenomena in their investigations, and looked for the origins of morals, law and marriage institutions in the life of the group.

As for America, anthropologists in that country have in general been more concerned with investigations into the highly interesting

American culture of its existing aboriginal Anthropologists. population and the remnants of its ancient cultures than with general theoretical considerations. But in these investigations they have generally proceeded from a psychological or evolutionary standpoint, although the effects of cultural contact or of the intermixture of races and cultures have not always been overlooked.

Recently, however, the trend of American theoretical anthropology appears to have been undergoing a change. A growing disapproval of the old evolutionary theory of culture is observable in the writings of American anthropologists. A few of them have laid special stress on the idea that similarity of customs and beliefs may have developed through diverse psychic processes fortuitously converging to produce a common result. This is described as the principle of 'convergence'.

The distinguished American anthropologist Dr. Franz Boas illustrates the theory of 'convergence' or 'convergent evolution' by, among others, the same instance of primitive decorative art which we have seen Dr. Rivers employing to

The theory of 'Convergence'. illustrate the difference in the respective view-points of the psychological and the ethnological schools of anthropology. Dr. Boas points out that the geometrical form in decorative art instead of arising merely through symbolic conventionalism of former realistic representations, may have arisen in various other ways. "A great diversity of objects", says he, "might have given rise to the same decorative motives, so that the survival of the same decorative motive would not lead back to the same realistic origin". He points out that "geometrical motives of the same type have developed from the tendency of the artist to play with his technique as the virtuoso plays on his instrument; that the expert basket-weaver, by varying the arrangement of her weave, was led to the development of geometrical designs of the same form as those that were developed in other places from realistic representations". "We may even go a step further", he adds, "and recognize that geometrical forms developed from the technique suggested animal forms, which later on were modified so as to assume realistic forms; so that in the case of decorative art the same forms may just as well stand at the beginning of a series of development as at the end"<sup>6</sup>. After citing other instances, such as

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<sup>6</sup>"*The Mind of Primitive Man*, ( New York, 1916 ) p. 186.

the different origins of the use of masks among different peoples, the origin of similar tribal segmentations or sub-divisions among different peoples arising in different ways, and different ideas leading different peoples to the idea of a life after death, Dr. Boas goes on to say,—“These few data may suffice to show that the same ethnic phenomena may develop from different sources and we may infer that the simpler the observed fact the more likely it is that it may have developed from one source rather than from another. When we base our study on these observations it appears that serious objection may be made against the assumption of the occurrence of a general sequence of cultural stages among all the races of man; that rather we recognize a peculiar tendency of divers customs and beliefs to converge towards similar forms. In order to interpret correctly these similarities in form it is necessary to investigate their historical development”<sup>7</sup>.

“An important theoretical consideration”, he further observes, “has also shaken our faith in the correctness of the evolutionary theory as a whole. It is one of the essential traits of the theory that, in general, civilization has developed from simple forms to complex forms and that extended fields of human culture have developed under more or less rationalistic impulses. Of late years we are beginning to recognize that human culture does not always develop from the simple to the complex but that in many aspects two

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 192-193.

tendencies intercross—one from the complex to the simple, the other from the simple to the complex”<sup>8</sup>.

He points out that whereas the history of industrial development is almost throughout one of increasing complexity, human activities that do not depend upon reasoning do not show a similar type of evolution. And he illustrates this by the example of language and of music. Both language and music, he points out, begin with complex and end with simpler forms. As every student of primitive languages knows, they appear on the whole more complex in their grammatical categories than modern cultured languages : and in primitive music the complexity of rhythmic structure is said to be “unequalled in the popular art of our day”. From all this, Dr. Boas concludes, “If once it is recognized that simplicity is not always a proof of antiquity, it will readily be seen that the theory of the evolutions of civilization rests to a certain extent on logical error”<sup>9</sup>.

American anthropologists in general do not, however, appear to have pinned their faith to any particular theory of cultural evolution. In the latest American book on “*Primitive Society*” (1920), its author, Dr. Robert Lowie of the American Museum of Natural History, maintains that neither independent evolution from like causes nor convergent evolution from unlike causes establishes an innate law of social progress, but that culture develops mainly through the borrowing due to chance contact, and the social history of a particular people cannot be reconstructed

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<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 193.

<sup>9</sup>*The Mind of Primitive Man*, ( New York, 1916 ), p. 193.

from any generally valid scheme of evolution, but only in the light of its known and probable cultural relations with neighbouring people. Civilization, according to Dr. Lowie, is a "planless hodge-podge," a thing of shreds and patches to which "its historian can no longer yield superstitious reverence." Although so far as material culture is concerned, Dr. Lowie would not object to our speaking of a progressive change, with regard to social organization, however, he holds that "Neither morphologically nor dynamically can social life be said to have progressed from a stage of savagery to a stage of enlightenment." And he tells us that "the period has come for eschewing the all-embracing and baseless theories of yore and to settle down to that sober historical research involved in the intensive study of specific regions".

I have now briefly set forth the principal authoritative theories now current

#### **The Four Main Theories of the Origin and Development of Culture.**

regarding the origin and development of human culture. There is first the orthodox evolutionary or psychological theory associated with the names of the distinguished pioneers of the Science,

which seeks to reconstruct early social institutions through a study of those psychological factors which are discoverable in the individual human mind. We have next the Sociological theory of Durkheim which seeks to reach the end through an investigation of those psychological factors which are common to every primitive group as a group. Then we

have the 'anthropo-geographical' interpretation of human culture associated with the great name of Ratzel who would make physical environment the chief determinant of culture. We next come to the American school which though hitherto adhering more or less to the psychological interpretation of cultural origins is now inclined to doubt its validity ; and, as we have seen, the leading American anthropologist Dr. Boas has put forward a theory of 'convergent evolution'. And finally we have the historical or ethnological school developed out of Ratzel's Geographical School and associated with the distinguished name of Graebner. According to this historical or ethnological theory of culture, as we have seen, the different cultures of the world have evolved not by a process of independent or parallel evolution due to the homogeneity of the human mind but through chance contact and borrowings of cultural features or through historical blendings of cultures and races.

Such are the different types of cultural theory that now contest the field. When doctors disagree,—when the leading anthropologists of different countries are at variance as to the origin and development of culture and the methods of investigating it,—humble students of the science are in a fix and ask themselves,— Is there no means of reconciling these different doctrines and harmonising them into a comprehensive theory which may meet all possible objections. ?

In the next paper in this series, we shall try to find an answer to this perplexing question.



# MAN IN INDIA.

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## I. THE ANTIQUITY OF THE SUCCESSION OF THE SISTER'S SON.

BY COL. T. C. HODSON, I. C. S., (*Retd.*)

To the labours of the French School in the Far East we owe the discovery and translation of the inscriptions in Sanskrit and Khmer at Sdok Kak Thom in the province of Sisphohon which was ceded to France in 1907. The demarcation of the frontier leaves the temple where these inscriptions are found inside the territory of Siam. The latest date in the inscription is given as 974 *Saka*=1052 A. D. The account given of these inscriptions by M. Louis Finot, *Directeur p. i. de l' Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient* in Bulletin XVI, Tome XV, No. 2, states that we have the detail of the chronicle of the religious foundation by a priestly family during a period of two and a half centuries, characterised by the succession of the *bhagineya*, the sister's son. In the opinion of M. Barth this succession was due to the celibacy of the priest. M. Finot inclines to the view that the principle of succession by the female line was a principle of social organisation in general vogue rather than the custom of certain families. He seems to infer that it was a local custom co-

existing with the Hindu principle of male heredity which was the general rule for succession to the throne, though cases of succession based on female kinship are also cited.

The text of the inscriptions reveals features of interest both in the Sanskrit and in the Khmer versions which follow.

Sanskrit. XXXI. (1) tan-mātrivanse yatayas striye vā jātā vi 'dyā-vi) kra(ma)-yukta bhāvāh

(2) tad yājakās syur na

kathauñcid anya iti kritindsa-dvija-kalpanāsit,

which is translated as "Que les yatis nes d'une femme de ce matrvamsa et doués de science et d'energie soient prêtres de ce culte et jamais d'autres. Telle fut la règle des brahmanas royaux". This in English is, "That the holy men born of a woman belonging to the mother-kin and endowed with learning and energy should be the priests of this cult and no others. This was the rule of the royal Brahmans".

Khmer.—vrah pāda Paramesvara nu brāhmaṇa

Hiranyadāma ey vara sapa pre santāna  
sten an sivakaivalya gi ta sin nā  
kamraten jagat tā rāja vyam āo ti mān  
onak ta dau ti ta sin ta nohh sten an  
Sivakaivalya purohita duk kule phon  
sin.

This is translated in French as meaning "S. M. Paramesvara et la brahmane Hiranyadama firent serment d'employer la famille du sten an Sivakaivalya à célébrer le culte du Kamraten jagat ta raja; et de ne pas souffrir que d'autres

le célébrassent. Le sten an Sivakaivalya, le purohita, affecta tous ses parents a ce culte." In English, this would mean, "Then, His Majesty Paramesvara and the Brahman Hiranyadama then made a solemn covenant to employ the family of the illustrious Sivakaivalya as celebrants of the worship of *Kamraten jagat ta raja* and never to employ any others. The illustrious Sivakaivalya the priest set all his relatives apart for this worship.

The Sanskrit inscription is the more formal—the more complete statement of the history of this temple and of its long line of Brahman priests who succeed in accordance with the principle of the inheritance passing to the sister's son.

The worship of the Temple was Shaivaite. All through the ninth and tenth centuries as well as much earlier there was constant intercourse by sea between Siam, Cambodia and Southern India. That the Brahmans who brought this worship of Shiva to Siam and Cambodia where it has left indelible marks in the splendid shrines of Angkar Wat, were Brahmans from Southern India, where the worship of Shiva has attained such notable dimensions, is extremely probable though it cannot be verified. As regards Southern India, the succession of the sister's son (*marumakkathayam* and *aliya santana*) is a well known feature of Southern Indian society where it is frequently associated with the interesting arrangement known as cross-cousin marriage. Baudhāyana in discussing the differences between the societies of Northern

and Southern India in his time refers to the marriage with the daughter of the maternal uncle or with the daughter of the paternal aunt as one of the features of Southern Indian society ( see Frazer, *Folklore of the Old Testament*, II. 99. ). The date now assigned to Baudhāyana is from 500 to 200 B. C. The Sdok Kak Thom inscription is dated 105<sup>o</sup> A. D. and the date of Hiranyadama can be calculated as about 850 A. D. Had the Brahmans of Southern India, assuming that the Cambodia worthies came from Southern India, the system of sister's son succession with them as part of their family customs or did they, as suggested by M. Finot imitate a local custom ? Was the sister's son succession associated in the days of Baudhāyana with cross-cousin marriage ? Had the Brahmans of Southern India of Baudhāyana's time already adopted this system of succession as a matrilineal group and had only this principle of cross-cousin marriage ? It is a curious thing, perhaps a mere coincidence, that the Bant account of the origin of the system of *Aliya santāna* ( Thurston, *Tribes and Castes of Southern India*, p. 153 ) is associated with a sea-going people. I cannot discover any thing to show that cross-cousin marriage is in vogue among the Bants. The date of the introduction given by Thurston who quotes an article from the *Calcutta Review* is A. D. 77.

To conclude, the evidence shows that by the middle of the ninth century there were Brahman families on a matrilineal basis with the succession of the sister's son. It is probable that these families

came from Southern India where, as we know, this method of succession is common. What would happen if Brahmans from a matrilineal group practising the sister's son succession came into touch with an inferior group of patrilineal order?

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## II. A NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT AMONG THE ORAONS.

BY THE EDITOR.

A section of the Oraons of Chota-Nagpur have within recent years developed a new religion which is a curious result of the influence of Hindu and Christian ideas on primitive Animism. The doctrines and practices of this new religious movement are not without their interest for the antropologist. This movement is, to my mind, an apt illustration of the relative influences of heredity and environment in culture—of social inheritance and cultural contact. It shows that cultural phenomena are the resultants of more than one factor, and that neither cultural contact and borrowing nor racial heritage and independent evolution alone can sufficiently explain that complex which we call the ‘culture’ of a community.

The Oraon is a typical animist ; and even conversion to Christianity does not appear to have eradicated animistic habits of thought from the minds of the uneducated Oraon convert. The Tana Bhagat movement, as their new religious movement is called, although professedly directed against the primitive animistic religion of the tribe has not, as might be expected, been able to divest itself of animistic ideas ; and the *modus operandi* adopted by the leaders of the movement to purge their old spirits and superstitions out of their religion is, as we shall presently see, the characteristic *modus operandi* of animism itself.

The main-spring of the new movement appears to have been a desire in the originators of the movement to raise the now degraded social position of their community to the higher level occupied by the Hindu and Christian converts amongst their tribe-fellows and to remedy, if possible, their long-standing agrarian grievances and the present wretchedness of their economic condition. And thus the social and economic aspects of this movement are bound up with its religious aspect.

The leaders of the new movement began by suspecting that the old spirits to whom they so long looked for help were powerless to help them in their economic distress and their agrarian troubles, and ended by persuading themselves that it was indeed those very spirits that were wholly responsible for their present miserable social and economic condition and must be not only abandoned but expelled from the Oraon country. The belief in these spirits, they declared, was no part of their ancient tribal faith but was a later importation or 'cultural drift'. Accordingly they named their new reformed faith as the "Kurukh Dharam" or the real religion on the Kurukhs or Oraons. They also sometimes call their religion the 'Bhakat' or 'Bhakti' religion (literally, religion of love or devotion). From the frequent use of the word "tano" and "tana" ("pull" and "pulling") in their hymns and songs, the followers of the new religion came to be called "Tanas" or "Tana Bhagats" by their neighbours.

The individual who is known to have first formulated in words the ideas that had been long

fermenting in the minds of a section of the people was one Jatra Oraon, a youth of about twenty to twenty-five years of age, residing in village Chepri Nawatoli in Bishunpur Police Station in the Gumla Sub-division of the Ranchi District. In April, 1914, this sensitive Oraon youth proclaimed to his fellow tribesmen that in a dream Dharmes (the Supreme God) told him to give up *Matiao* (ghost-finding and exorcism) and the belief in *bhuts* or spirits, to abjure all animal sacrifice, animal food and liquor, and to give up ploughing their fields which entailed cruelty on cows and oxen but failed to save them from famine and poverty, and no more to work as coolies or labourers under men of other castes and tribes. He further proclaimed that he had been ordered by Dharmes to gather together as many disciples as he could, teach them *Mantras* or incantations (which come to him through divine inspiration) and thereby to cure fever, sore eye and other diseases. He soon collected a following of from one to two thousand. It is said that, like Birsa Bhagwan among the Mundas, he gave out that those who did not join his movement would be struck dumb, and that he was to be the king of the country. On his refusal to allow his followers to take up work as coolies for the construction of a school in village Dokotoli adjacent to his own village, the local Police sent him up for trial along with seven of his followers to the court of the Sub-Divisional Magistrate of Gumla and they were bound down under Section 107 of the Criminal Procedure Code to keep the peace. And thus ended the first manifestation of the new spirit.

The next and more enduring manifestation of the new ideas occurred in the latter part of the year 1915. The movement which now came to be definitely known as the "Tana Bhagat" movement appears to have originated in the south-western parts of the Ranchi district and spread through the western and central thanas of the district to the northern thanas of Bero and Kuru, and thence to the jurisdiction of the Mandar thana which adjoins the Ranchi thana on the west and even affected the western parts of the Ranchi thana. From Kuru, the movement also spread to the north and west and temporarily affected a section of the Oraons of the Palamau district on the north-west and the Hazaribagh district on the north. Although the movement, before long, more or less subsided in the south-western and western parts of the Ranchi district, it appears to have come to stay in the Lohardaga, Sisai, Lapung, Bero, Kuru and Mandar thanas, particularly in the last three police areas.

The movement has now passed through two definite stages, the first stage being that of destruction consisting of the expulsion of the old *bhuts* or evil spirits from the land and the abandonment of old habits and usages, and the second that of construction and consolidation consisting in the promulgation of regulations and rules of conduct for the followers of the new religion, and definite formulation of doctrines and beliefs.

The first stage of the new movement, consisting as it did in a somewhat extensive campaign of ghost-

hunting at night-time, caused great panic among the local Zamindars or landed proprietors and Police officers who neither understood the vociferous songs and incantations which accompanied the ghost-hunting nor indeed were allowed to approach and witness the proceedings ; and, as a matter of fact, a few cases of actual violence against suspected witches were reported and proved and the culprits punished. A number of *Tanas* also appeared to have stopped payment of rents to their landlords and gave up ploughing their lands.

Alarmist accounts received by Police officers from panic-stricken local zamindars and usurious money-lenders who apprehended a rising of the Oraons against themselves and from local liquor-sellers who were dismayed by the vow of total abstinence from drinking adopted by these *Tanas*, were readily believed. Their meetings were regarded with suspicion and exaggerated into disloyal and illegal meetings. In fact, in some villages, it is said, the *Tanas* while invoking what they regard as the beneficent powers added the name 'German Baba' to 'Chandra Baba' (Moon God), Suraj Baba' (Sun God) and similar other Babas or good Powers. This was no doubt due to ignorance rather than sedition, for in those days the earlier victories of the Germans in the Great War were every where talked about and these ignorant religious enthusiasts took 'German Baba' or the 'German God' as one more unknown mighty power. The authorities accordingly prohibited nightly gatherings, and several batches of followers of the new religion were sent up to the courts as

likely to commit breaches of the peace, and on their failure to furnish sufficient security were sent to prison.

These measures adopted by the authorities had the effect of inducing a large number of half-hearted and vacillating followers of the new doctrines to revert to their old religion and old ways of living.

With a view to retard the growth of the movement, the authorities not only prohibited nightly secret gatherings, but large gatherings during the day-time were also prohibited except where they were strictly orderly. One such gathering that was arranged for at Sisai was, however, permitted to be held and the Sub-Inspector of Police of Sisai was permitted to attend. The resolutions—over twenty in number—passed at this meeting were found all to relate to social, moral and religious affairs, and indeed one of those resolutions warned the Tana Oraons to be very careful not to have any quarrels with non-aboriginals who were spreading false rumours against them. This showed that these people had no intention of rising against the non-aboriginals but rather were solely bent upon purging out of their villages ghosts and spirits by the recitation of certain powerful *mantas* or spells, and raising there own social position by the abandonment of what they considered to be degrading practices such as the keeping and eating of pigs and fowls and the use of intoxicants. Nor were they really disaffected against the British Government. In fact, there is no sedition in the Oraon constitution. Even the sedulous blandishments of certain emissaries of the so-called 'Non-co-operation' movement

in India have hitherto failed to inveigle them into its fold.

A reversion of the popular feeling against the Tanas followed. And while the authorities did not slacken their vigilance so that the extreme section of the Tana Bhagats might not commit any disturbance, the mind of the public was generally taken off the movement. And the leaders of the movement now turned their attention to building up a body of rules to regulate their religious and social practices.

I shall now proceed to give an account first of the procedure by which they sought to drive out the *bhuts* from the land and then of the doctrines, usages and practices of the new religion.

As I have already observed, the *modus operandi* adopted by the Tanas is not a new one, for the process by which these Tana Bhagats sought to expel the *bhuts* or spirits from the country was an adaptation of the old process of exorcism employed by the spirit-doctors amongst the Oraons and other animists of Chota-Nagpur in cases of supposed spirit-possession.

The method adopted by the leaders of the movement in propagating their doctrines, practices and incantations (*mantras*) was to collect on some open space outside an Oraon village a number of youths of surrounding villages and instruct them and send them out to their respective villages, and these in their turn were to collect other young men of their own and neighbouring villages and convert and instruct them. And thus the new faith spread from village to village.

The procedure followed in expelling the old spirits or *bhuts* was as follows. During the first few nights the young men assembled, after their evening-meals, at the boundary line of the village from which the *bhuts* had to be expelled. When all were assembled, some would exclaim "Seek out the spot." They would begin by singing or rather reciting their invocations in a sing-song tune in local Hindi—as follows ; "*Chandra baba, Suraj baba, Dharti baba, Taragan baba,—nachan ke jaega kon hai ?—kon hai ?—K—K—K ?*"

( "O Father Moon, O Father Sun, O Father Earth, O Father Starry Host,—where is the spot for dancing ? where is it ?— wh—? wh—? wh—? ) They would proceed in this way, until one of them showed supposed signs of spirit-possession and ran to a spot close by where he would stop, and to that spot the whole company would proceed and arrange themselves in a circle leaving an opening on the north. And with their hands folded as in prayer, they would go on singing in a monotonous tone the following *mantras* on which they rang many changes, varying the names of the Superior Powers ( Sun, Moon, etc. ) by substituting those of other good Powers they can conceive of, such as Birsa Baba ( Birsa Bhagwan ) :—

Tana, Baba, tana, Bhutanike tana  
Tana, Baba, tana, tan ton tana ;  
Tana, Baba, tana, Kona Kuchi bhutanike tana,  
Tana, Baba, tana, tan ton tana,  
Tana, Baba, tana, Lukal Chhapal bhutanike tana,  
Tana, Baba, tana, tan ton tana ;

Tana, Baba, tana, Garha dhipa bhutanike tana,  
Tana, Baba, tana, tan ton tana;  
Tana, Baba, tana, Pesal Pasal bhutanike tana,  
Tana, Baba, tana, tan ton tana.  
Tana, Baba, tana, Daini bhutanike tana,  
Tana, Baba, tana, tan ton tana.  
Chandra Baba, Suraj Baba,  
Dharti Baba, Taregan Baba,  
Nāmse arji magte hai—  
Tana, Baba, tana, tan ton tana.  
Dainike Nasan Thapal bhutanike tana,  
Tana, Baba, tana, tan ton tana.  
Bapake manal deoa bhutanike tana,  
Tana, Baba, tana, tan ton tana.  
Aja par-aja manal deoa bhutanike tana,  
Tana, Baba, tana, tan ton tana.  
Murgi-khaia bhutanike tana;  
Tana, Baba, tana, tan ton tana.  
Kara-khaia bhutanike tana,  
Tana, Baba, tana, tan ton tana.  
Bhera-khaia bhutanike tana,  
Tana, Baba, tana, tan ton tana.  
Admi-khaia bhutanike tana,  
Tana, Baba, tana, tan ton tana.

These incantations may be roughly translated as follows :—

Pull, Father, Pull, Pull down the *bhuts*  
Pull, Father, Pull—Pull—Pull  
Pull, Father, Pull, Pull the *bhuts* (hiding) in corners  
and turnings.  
Pull, Father, Pull,—Pull—pull,—Pull.  
Pull, Father, Pull, Pull the *bhuts* that live in hiding.  
Pull, Father, Pull,—Pull—Pull—Pull,  
Pull, Father, pull, Pull the *bhuts* of ditches and mounds;  
Pull, Father, Pull, Pull—Pull—Pull.  
Pull, Father, Pull, Pull the *bhuts* of persons slain;  
Pull, Father, Pull, Pull—Pull—Pull.

Pull, Father, Pull, Pull the *bhuts* (familiar spirits) of the witches.  
Pull, Father, Pull, Pull—Pull—Pull.  
O Father Moon, O Father Sun,  
O Father Earth, O Father Starry Host.  
In the names of ye all, we pray,—  
Pull, Father, Pull, Pull—Pull—Pull.  
Pull the *bhuts* by witches egged on.  
Pull, Father, Pull, Pull—Pull—Pull  
Pull the *bhuts* to whom vows were by our fathers made,  
Pull, Father, Pull, Pull—Pull—Pull.  
Pull the *bhuts* to whom vows were by our grandfathers and great grand-fathers made,  
Pull, Father, Pull, Pull—Pull—Pull.  
Pull the *bhuts* that want fowls to eat (as sacrifices).  
Pull, Father, Pull, Pull—Pull—Pull.  
Pull the *bhuts* that on buffaloes do feed (as sacrifices).  
Pull, Father, Pull, Pull—Pull—Pull.  
Pull the *bhuts* which on sheep do feed (as sacrifices)  
Pull, Father, Pull, Pull—Pull—Pull.  
Pull the *bhuts* which men (human sacrifices) do eat  
Pull, Father, Pull, Pull—Pull—Pull.

If the ‘German Baba’ was supposed to be a good power on account of its victories in those days, such powerful machines as the steam-boat, the railway engine, the motor car and the bicycle were to the animistic Tana evil powers, and he accordingly called upon the Good Powers to pull or expel them from the land. And in their invocations they sometimes sang :

“Tana Baba tana,  
Agni-boat ke tana ;  
Tana Baba tana,  
Rel gari ke tana,  
Tana Baba tana ;  
Bicycle ke tana,  
Tana Baba Tana.

Pull, Father, Pull,  
 Pull the steam-boat,  
 Pull, Father, Pull,  
 Pull the railway train,  
 Pull, Father, Pull,  
 Pull the bicycle,  
 Pull, Father, Pull.

In this way they would invoke what they regard as the superior powers to pull or drive out the bad powers or evil spirits whom they so long fruitlessly sought to please and placate. While singing these invocations, they would keep time by clapping their hands and lifting up each leg alternately, but no musical instruments would be used. Sometimes they would walk round in a circle, sometimes kneel down and shake their heads while chanting these invocations.

The song would be sung and re-sung several times, and at intervals all would maintain a strict silence, and again take up the song. When singing was in full swing, some one would begin to shout "Father—father—father" and get 'possessed' and begin to run, and all would run about shouting to the spirits "Hato—hato," 'Bhago-bhut'—'bhago-bhut' 'bhago' ( Away—away—Fly ye *bhuts*, fly ); and thus would the *bhuts* be driven out. Then they would similarly arrange themselves at another spot and repeat the same incantations in the same way. And thus the devil-driving would continue till cock-crow. Every following night the Tana exorcisers would advance with their operations nearer to the *basti* or inhabited portion of the village. On the night when they reached the outskirts of the

*basti* or cluster of homesteads, a white goat is brought out, given some dust to lick ( instead of rice to eat as is done in sacrificing an animal to the *bhuts* ), and instead of being sacrificed is let loose in the name of the Sun God, and the headman prays forgiveness for the past sins of the villagers committed in ignorance of the true religion.

After this they enter the *basti* and for a few nights repeat the same operations of devil-driving as before, singing invocations and throwing dust all round the *angan* or yard to drive away the *bhuts*. On the last two or three days, they enter the huts of the Oraon villagers in the day-time to expel all the *bhuts* that may be in hiding there. And they go about it in the following manner. A number of *Tanas* surround a hut by way of keeping guard over it and go on drawling repeatedly—

"Baba—Baba—Chandra Baba—Chandra Baba ;  
Kāhā hai, Suruj Baba,—Kāhā hai ? "  
(Father—Father—Father Moon—Father moon !  
Where is it ? Father Sun ! Where is it ?)

A few reply in the same sing-song tone—

'Ihā hāi, Ihā hāi' (Here it is ! Here it is !)  
and enter the hut and search every creek and corner of it, and at length come out with some such article as a stick or a plait of straw as an emblem of the *bhut* they either pretend or believe to have captured. Sometimes a part of the floor is dug up to bring out a supposed *bhut*. Then the *bhut* or its emblem is either burnt in some open space outside the *basti* ; or if it is believed to be a particularly powerful *bhut* it is taken to the river-side and burnt there. In this

way in two or three days all the *bhuts* are purged out of the village. After the *bhuts* are expelled from a house, fruits and sweets are offered to Dharmes (God) inside the house. During the days that these spirit-hunting operations go on, those engaged in it abstain from bathing. After the spirits are expelled they bathe.

The same incantations are also employed to expel the familiar spirit of a supposed witch and thus to rid her of its influence. And in cases of headache, stomach-ache and pain in the abdomen, the same incantations are employed to cure the ailment.

These invocations of the Tanas, as will be seen, are generally worded in the local Hindi language and not in their Oraon mother-tongue. And it seems not unlikely that the originator of the movement, whoever he might be, was under the influence of some Hindu teacher of a rather low order.

Since stage of the movement was passed, we seldom hear of these extensive spirit-driving operations. When after the first excitement of the new movement subsided, and a larger number of its earlier followers relapsed to their old religion and their old ways of living, the leaders among those who stuck to the new faith turned their attention, as I said, to building up a body of rules to regulate their religious and social practices. These rules were all embodied in the form of catechisms and songs in their own Oraon tongue; and any number of Oraon hymns or *bhajans* have also been composed. The Tana Bhagats profess that all these songs and hymns come to them through divine inspiration and have not been thought out and deliberately composed. Some speci-

mens of their songs, hymns and other compositions are given below. The narrative portion of these compositions which gives an account of the origin and history of the movement is, it will be seen, in prose.

### GOSPEL OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

Kurukhar gahi puna jug gahi puna dharam gahi ored Dharammuli.

The beginning of the essence of the new religion of the Oraons in the new Age.

Mund name tana urkha, name tana barcha ki tana parhna bara lagi, pachhimenti barcha padda.

At first the name Tana came into existence and then Tanaism came and is proceeding to the villages from the West.

Arisya to nanna padanta alar menj menjar dara salah manjar ki inna haro onta namoai kurukhar gahi tana parhna bara lagi. When it reached a certain village, the people of other villages, hearing it, consulted together, saying, Brethren, to-day the Tanaism of us Oraons is coming.

Se tana mantra name phalna padda arisya se inna a padda kalot tana para' tab i paddanta alar ge salah manja.

Now the Tana mantra has reached such and such a village ; therefore we shall go to that village to learn Tanaism. Then the people of this village agreed together.

Tab barchka paddanta alar gusan kerrar dara menjar ki inna eksan tana parha' kalor, tab menjar tab hormar ge salah manja ki tab inna i padda gahi uttar konra tinsimani nu khurti ondka khokha num a tinsimani nu jumma manke.

Then they went to the people of the village, where it came and asked, "Where to-day will you go to learn *Tanaism* ?"

When they heard this, they all agreed together

and said, "Then, gather together at the meeting-place of the three boundaries after supper, in the northern extremity of this village."

Tab abera manja tab a bera nu hormar alar jumrar. Tab a pada i padda u padda, hu padda ta alar enr mundh paddanta alar jumrar.

When that moment came, then all the men gathered together. Then the men of that village, of this village, of yonder village and of two or three villages met together.

Tab abkam kudha alar jumur manjar tab hormar ek onta bat nanjar tab asanum hormar gahi salha manja. Tab onta parhachka alas mukhiya guru manjas tab antile asim hormarin eda' helras

Then forming a vast crowd they became of one mind and there they all decided (come to a decision). Then, one enlightened man became the head teacher and he was the man who pointed out the way to everybody saying—

ki hormar akku sapra'ra akku bera mana lagg se akku achha kichri guthin achha se ui'ya ui'ar dara hormar akku ond panti nu panti panti ya' purub chhamhe.

Now, all be ready, the time is at hand ; so now keeping carefully your good clothes, all ye, stand in a line, with your faces eastward.

aur hormar hanth jor Dharme Babasin, Surj Babasin, aur Chandar Babasin aur Sita ayon, Hindu Babasin

And you all, with folded hands ask and pray to Dharme Baba, Suruj Baba, and Chandar Baba and Sita ayo (mother), Hindu Baba

aur Tarigan Babasin aur Ganga Babasin aur Lachhman Babasin aur hormar Babasin ennem name nana nana hormar mena ara arji nana mena ki—

and Tarigan Baba and Ganga Baba, and Lachhman Baba and all other Babas, calling them individually by name, as follows :—

E Bhagwan Baba bara Baba Bhagwan Baba chalin era bara  
Baba balin era bara Baba,

"O Bhagwan Baba, come Baba, Bhagwan Baba, come  
to see our yard, Baba ; come to see our doors Baba,  
hanth jor arji bahi jor binti nandan dinem ratim, dheyen  
nandan sanjhe bihan dheyen nandan, akkil geyan chiya Baba  
We pray to Thee with folded hands and arms day  
and night ; we meditate on Thee, in the morning and  
evening, O Baba, give us knowledge and wisdom ;  
Budhi geyan chiya Baba, Baba, Budhi bachnan nanan chiya ;  
Baba, gunbanan chiya, Baba, sukhan sanchan chiya, Baba,  
O Baba, give us knowledge and understanding, Baba,  
give us the gift of speaking wisely, Baba, give us  
virtues, Baba, give us happiness.

chalinum bara, Baba, balinum bara Baba, chalinum bara, Baba,  
erpanum bara Baba pallinum bara, Baba, khonrha num bara Baba,  
Come, Baba, visit our doors ; Baba, visit our yards ;  
Baba, visit our houses ; Baba, visit our families ;  
Baba, visit us in our gatherings

sabhanum bara Baba, khonrha num bara Baba, Jalsa num bara  
Baba, jiyanum bara Baba, kayanum bara Baba,

Baba, visit our meetings ; Baba, visit our gather-  
ings, Baba, come to our fairs, Baba, come into our  
hearts, Baba, come into our bodies.

hridaynum bara Baba, hanth jor arji nandan, Bahi jor binti  
nandan jay Iswar Baba ka daya.

Baba, come into our hearts, we pray thee with folded  
hands with folded arms. Hail, the mercy of God  
the Father."

Pahile suru name barcha ki tana parhna Lakshmi gahi bihi  
barcha ka Kunrkhar Mundar gahi tana parhna bara lagi ;

In the beginning came the Gospel of Lakshmi i. e.  
Tanaism came and that Tanaism was proceeding for  
the Uraons and the Mundas ;

achchhe man ti nam Kunrkhat Mundat onta bat sabha  
panchait nana

so with a good heart the Uraons and the Mundas  
should hold *sabha* (meetings) and panchayat.

Tab hormar gahi manjuri manja ki lage haro parha ge suru nana tab  
hormar gahi pahile onta alas bhais sabhapati siksha guru manjas.

Then all agreed to begin to learn Tanaism ; then first  
of all one brother became President and teacher.

Pahile orma alar ijar dara hormar Bhagwan Babas gahi name  
nana nana Dharme Babasin arji binti nanjkam.

In the begining all men thus standing requested  
and prayed to God the Father calling by name  
Bhagwan Baba.

Tab antle he Bhagwan Baba, he Suraj Baba, he Chandra Baba,  
he Tarigan Baba,, he Dharti ayo,

Then (they prayed) O, Bhagwan Baba, O Suraj  
Baba, O Chandra Baba, O Tarigan Baba, O Dharti  
ayo (Mother),

He Prithvi Baba, he Hindu Baba, he Lakhan Baba, he  
Laksman Baba, enne hormar gahi name bara erna ethra.

O Prithvi Father, O Hindu Father, O Lakhan  
Father, O Laksman Father. In this way the names  
of all seemed to be great.

He Gunibani Baba bach bach arji binti nanjkam tab Dharme  
Babas arjin chichas tab alar ge arji manja

O Gunibani (Magic-working) Father ; we requested  
and prayed—so then (God) Dharmes Father granted  
the prayer ; then there was prayer for men ;

Tab arji mana helerkam, tab Dharme Babas namhain jia num  
katha num barchas, tab hurmid kore ganda bat katha sirjara helera,

Then we began to hear the prayer ; then Dharmes  
Father came into our hearts and in our speech, then  
all good and evil words began to spring up ;

tab Dharme Babasin bhala sukh kaththan mena helerkam tab  
arji tenga helra,

Then we began to hear the happy Gospel of Dharme  
Baba. Then the prayer began to answer,

Dos jia pitna dos rai, nad mekhne dos rai, arkhi jhara onna  
kharab rai,

To kill life is sin, to worship ghosts is sin, liquor-  
beer drinking is sin ;

aur namhain akhra jhakhra nu bechna naladna mana rai, aur  
namhai pahilenta benjerna chunjurna riti bhanti kharab rai;

and our dancing in *akhras* or in dancing places is  
prohibited and our former marriage customs are bad ;

aur namhai benja gahi riti niyam kharab rai, pachbalargahi  
name turu amm tirna mana rai;

and the rules and regulations of our marriage  
ceremonies are bad, it is prohibited to sprinkle (offer)  
water in the name of the dead ;

kher kiss pitna, arkhi jhara onna, ityadi bura kam mana rai ;  
sacrificing hens and pigs drinking liquor and beer  
and other bad habits are prohibited,

Nad manna mua malech gahi name turu puja pat nanna mana rai,  
yane pahilenta jitna chalan byawahar kam mana rai.

it is prohibited to believe in ghost, to make offering  
in the name of spirits such as *mua malechchh*, that is,  
all the former evil practices are prohibited.

Some of these restrictions imposed upon the  
followers of the new religion are laid down in the  
form of questions to the Supreme God and His  
answers, as follows :—

### PROHIBITIONS FOR THE TANA ORAONS.

Bara Iswar Bara ed eda jiya pitna mano ka mala—to mala  
Come Thou, O God our Father show (tell) us whether  
to kill a life or not.—No.

Ahra injo kakro mokhna mano ka mala—to mala

Whether to eat meat, fish, crab or not.—No.

Ora mak kher kis era khasi ahra mokhna mano ka mala, Baba,—  
to mala

Whether to eat the meat of birds, hen, pig, she-goat  
and of he-goat or not, O Father.—No.

Tab ekdam jiya pitna mana rai, jankar jiya pitna mana rai.

Then, it is prohibited altogether to kill a life, it is  
prohibited to kill a life knowingly.

Nad pakid rao ka mala Baba to mala ;—mal rao, chocha kera

O Father, say whether the old spirits and ghosts will  
continue to exist or not.—No, they will not continue,  
they have run away.

Dain Bisahi rao ka mala, Baba—to mala, mal rao bonga kera

O Father, say whether the wizard and the witch will  
continue to exist or not.—No they will not ; they  
have fled away.

Mati ojha bhagat rao ka mala Baba—mala, mal rao bonga kera.

O Father, say whether sorcery will remain or not.—  
No, it will not remain, it has vanished

Jhara arkhin onor ka mala, baba,— to mala, narak kund kalor.

Whether men should drink beer and liquor or not.—  
No, if they drink they will go to hell.

Akhra jhakra rao ka mala, Baba,—to mala, mal rao chocha kera.

Whether the dancing-place and the sacred grove  
should remain or not.—No, they will not remain,  
they have been abolished.

Koi indrim parab rao ka mala, Baba,—to mala ; mal rao bonga kera

O Father, say, whether any kind of festival will  
remain or not.—they will not remain, they have  
been abolished.

Jatra sendra sail sikar rao ka mala, Baba, Mala—mal rao chocha kera.

Say, whether dancing and hunting excursions should remain or not.—No, they should not remain, they have been abolished.

Karam, Jitya, Dasain, Sohrai, Dewthan, Jadra, Sarhul, Phaggu, Khaddi bechna, naldna nalna,

The festivals known as Karam, Jitya, Dashhara, Sohrai, Deothan, Jadura, Sarhul, Phagua and Khaddi (Sarhul) dance, and dancing of any kind

Khel, Damua, jhanjh, chaunr, tota, turra, bindo paga, banna tolong, patka, chandwa, pun, hansli, bala painra, soynko, ghughri, and playing on musical instruments, such as, mandar, nagara, jhanjh, and the use of chaunr, tota, turra, and flat head-dress, coloured langoti, waist-girdles and jewellery such as chandwa, glass beads, bansli, bangles ; soynko, ghughri,

aur jonkh pello erpa aur jonkh pello manna, dharar nakharna joror nakharna, dhukku dhakka mankhna dhukku korna, and the customs of *dhumkuria* (dormitories) for young men and young women and the unrestrained companionship of young men and women and their seizing one another, joining hands with one another, improper unions,

par banna, jawa banna, bai bala, kasauti bala, muddli, jhutia dhopa gethiya,

the use of *par* embroidery, *jawa* embroidery, arm bangle, *kasuti* bangle, rings for the fingers and toes, ear-rings,

khed khoda banna, khebda chakharna, binryo attna, nakbesar attna, bitla danda attna,

tatooing, perforating the ears, wearing big ear-rings and ornaments for the nose, and wearing sticks through the ear-holes,

aur jhika chilpi mudri attna aur sangi guiya manna, pahilenta  
 Kalau chalanta benja riti, jhara ladna, pachbalar gahi name turu  
 amm tirna

and using such ornaments as jhika, chilpi, mudri, and  
 making friendship of the sangi and guiya forms and  
 the former customs of marriage of Kali Yug,  
 brewing beer and dropping water in the names of the  
 dead,

aur benja sabha nu kher kiss pitna, jhara oanna, kis ahra kamna,  
 jhara chitna, amm khatna,

and killing fowls and pigs at marriage-feasts, drinking  
 beer, preparing the meat of pig, straining beer,  
 distributing beer,

samdhi samdho chonha manna, samdhi samdo ghoru manna,  
 samdhi samdho arbar nakharna, maya mokhna,

mutual kissing of the samdhi samdho (parents of bride  
 and bridegroom), riding on one another of samdho  
 and samdhi, and the embracing of one another by  
 samdho samdhi, eating the *maya* (dregs) of beer,

kiss ahra khatarna mokhna, Turisin beddna, benja dandi parna,  
 aur benja chikhna, sindri tura nakharna,

distributing and eating bacon, employing a Turi  
 (drum-beater), singing marriage songs and weeping  
 at a marriage, applying vermillion,

danda katna enne bura kam mana rai, i bagge kam nalak bura  
 nalak mana rai ka mala baba;—mana rai.

reading omens—all such evil customs are prohibited.  
 Say, O Father, whether all these bad things are  
 prohibited or not:—yes, they are prohibited.

### A TANA HYMN.

Sant lele bara Baba, akil lele bara Baba, buddhi lele bara Baba,  
 bal lele bara Baba, sona gahi dhal lele bara Baba,

Come Father bringing peace, come Father bringing

knowledge and understanding, come Father bringing strength, come Father bringing Thy golden shield, sona gahi tilak lele bara Baba, sona gahi mukut lele bara Baba, sat jug lele bara Baba,  
come bringing (Thy) golden symbols, come, Father, bringing Thy golden crown, come Father bringing Sat Yug (the Golden Age):

dharam chemp lele bara Baba, dharam rup lele bara Baba, sona raji lele bara Baba, sona gahi mandab lele bara Baba,

come Father bringing holy rain, come Father taking the shape of Dharam, come Father bringing (Thy) golden kingdom and golden altar,

sona gahi bench lele bara Baba, sona gahi kursi lele bara Baba, sorho anna singar lele bara Baba,

come Father bringing (Thy) golden bench and golden chair, O Father come with (Thy) accoutrements complete,

sona gahi kanchan gahi garh lele bara Baba, jinigim bara Baba janamon bara Baba,

Father, come bringing (Thy) golden castle, come Father for eternity,

hanth jor arji nandam banhi jor binti nandam dinem ratim dhyan nandam

we request Thee with folded hands and pray to Thee with crossed arms, we meditate on Thee day and night, sanjhe bihane gyan nandam, purub pachchim arji nandam, purub pachchim amm chi dam khokha chhamhe amman chi dam,

we think of Thee morning and evening, we pray to Thee in the east and the west, we drop water in Thy name in the east and the west, we sprinkle water before and behind,

ara ninghai name dhyan nandam, name name arji nandam name binti nandam,

and we meditate on (Thy) name, we invoke Thee by all (Thy) names, we pray to Thee by all Thy names,

Dharme Baba arji nandam Bhagwan Baba name binti nandam,  
 Dharam Dharam Dharam jay jay jay,  
 O Dharme Father, we appeal to Thee ; O Bhagwan  
 Father we pray in Thy name.—Dharam, Dharam,  
 Dharam, blessed, blessed, blessed art Thou.  
 Dharam Bhagwan.

O Dharam Father.

TANA KA BARAN BAYAN.—Purkhargahi akhra jakhra bechna  
 naladna nalna, karam, jitya, dasain, sohrai,

*A further enumeration of the prohibitions in Tanaism.—*

Say, whether there should continue or cease to exist  
 our ancestral usages of the *Akhra* (dancing ground)  
 and *Jhakra* (sacred groves), and whether we should  
 abjure dancing at Karam, Jitia, Dasara and Sohrai,  
 benja pahilenta aur jadura, sarhul, phaggu, kharia bechna mano  
 ka mala to mala,

and marriage dances of former times and whether  
 there will be Jadura, Sarhul, Phagua, and Kharia  
 dancing ;—No, these are prohibited,

karam bechna mano ka mala to mala, akhra aragna mano ka mala  
 to mala,

whether there will be Karam dancing or not ;—No ;  
 whether going to akhra is allowed or not ;—No, it  
 is not :

jatra aragna mano ka mala to mala, dhukku mankhna dhuku  
 korna mano ka mala to mala,

whether one may go to dances at *jatras* or not ;—No,  
 you may not : whether there should continue the  
 custom of unlawful unions or not ;—No, it shall not ;  
 jonkh pello manor ka mala to mala, mukka ambor ka mala to mala,  
 whether young pairs should mix with each other  
 without restraint or not,—No, this is prohibited ;  
 whether wives should be divorced or not ;—No, they  
 should not be ;

khel assor ka mala to mala, damwa dhank assor ka mala to mala,

whether there should be playing on mandar, nagera and dhank drums or not ;—No.

Similar prohibitions are also couched in the form of songs as follows :—

**ONTAM JIYA RAI,  
UNITY OF LIFE.**

Manukhar gahi jiya, baba, manukhar gahi, bhains gahi jiya, baba, bhains gahi, manukhar gahi jiya ka manukhar gahi jiya.

The lives of he-buffaloes and she-buffaloes are the same as human life—as human life.

Kadru gahi jiya, baba, kadru gahi jiya ka manukhar gahi jiya ka manukhar gahi jiya.

The life of young buffaloes is the same as the life of men—of men.

Gai gahi jiya baba gai gahi jiya manukhar gahi jiya ka maukhar gahi jiya.

The life of cows is the same as the life of men—the life of men.

Bachhru gahi jiya baba bachhru gahi jiya ka manukhar gahi jiya ka manukhar gahi jiya.

The life of a calf is the same as the life of men—of men.

Addo gahi jiya baba addo gahi jiya ka manukhar gahi jiya ka mnukhar gahi jiya.

The life of an ox is the same as the life of men—of men.

Jiya pitna bhairo maladim an baba maladim mano baba.

No life, O brethren, should be killed, no life.

Ahra mokhna bhairo maladim an baba maladim mano baba.

Eating meat, O brethren, should cease, should cease.

Jhara onna bhairo maladim an baba maladim mano baba.

Drinking beer, O brethren, should be given up—given up.

Arki onna bhairo maladim an baba maladim mano baba.

Drinking liquor, O brethren, should cease, should cease.

Khalab nanna bhairo maladim an baba maladim mano baba.

Committing theft, O brethren, should not be, not be.

Chhinari nanna bhairo maladim an baba maladim mano baba.  
 Practising adultery, O brethren, is forbidden, forbidden.  
 Nad manna bhairo maladim an baba maladim mano baba.  
 Worshipping ghosts, O brethren, is prohibited—prohibited,  
 Akhra Jakhra kana bhairo maladim, an haba maladim mano baba.  
 Going to dancing places, O brethren, should cease,  
 should cease,  
 Pap nanna bhairo maladim an baba maladim mano baba.  
 Committing sin, O brethren, is prohibited—prohibited,  
 Baiman manna bhairo maladim an baba maladim mano baba.  
 To be dishonest, O brethren, is prohibited—prohibited.

### OTHER SONGS.

Kal juga bhairo chocha dara kera an baba bonga dara kera baba  
 chocha dara kera.  
 No more, brethren no more, the Kal Yuga ( Age ) is  
 no more—is past and gone.  
 Pap yuga bhairo chocha dara an baba, bonga dara kera baba  
 chocha dara kera.  
 No more, brethren, no more, the Age of sin is  
 no more—is fled for aye.  
 Jia pitur bhairo jarichhay an baba jarichhay manor baba jari-  
 chhay manor.  
 The destroyers of life, O brethren, the destroyers of  
 life shall be totally destroyed—destroyed.  
 Papi alar bhairo jarichhay an baba munrichhay manor baba jari-  
 chhay manor.  
 Sinful people, O brethren, shall be totally destroyed.  
 Ahra mukhur bhairo jarichhay an baba munrichhay manor baba  
 jarichay manor.  
 Meat-eaters, O brethren, shall be ruined altogether—  
 shall be ruined.

Baiman alar bhairo, jarichay an baba munrichhay manor baba jarichhay manor.

O brethren, ungrateful people shall be totally destroyed—destroyed.

Nad alar bhairo jarichhay an baba munrichhay manor baba jari chhay manor.

The wicked, O brethren, shall be totally destroyed—destroyed.

Khad'u alar bhairo, jarichhay an baba munrichhay manor baba jarichhay manor.

Thieves, O brethren, shall be totally destroyed—destroyed.

Nad pakid bhairo, jarichhay an baba munrichhay mano bhairo jarichhay mano.

All ghosts and spirits, O brethren, shall be totally destroyed.

Dain bisahi, bhairo, jarichhay an baba munrichhay mano, baba jarichhay mano.

All the witches and wizards shall be totally destroyed.

Mua malech bhairo jarichhay an baba munrichhay mano baba jarichhay mano.

Mua malechh spirits, O brethren, shall be totally destroyed.

Churil Chhinail nad bhairo jarichhay an baba munrichhay mano baba jarichhay mano.

The Churil spirits, O brethren, shall be altogether destroyed—destroyed.

Addo mukhu nad, bhairo, jarichhay an baba munrichhay mano baba jarichhay mano.

Ox-eating ghosts, O brethren, shall be altogether destroyed—destroyed.

Mankha mukhu nad bhairo jarichhay an baba munrichhay mano baba jarichhay mano.

Buffalo-eating ghosts, O brethren, shall be entirely destroyed—destroyed.

Bhera mukhu nad bhairo jarichhay an baba munrichhay mano

baba jarichhay mano.

The sheep-eating ghosts, O brethren, shall be utterly destroyed—destroyed.

Kiss mukhu nad bhairo jarichhay an baba munrichhay mano baba jarichhay mano.

The pig-eating ghosts, O brethren, shall be entirely destroyed—destroyed.

Era mokhna nad bhairo jarichhay an baba munrichhay mano baba jarichhay mano.

The goat-eating ghosts, O brethren, shall be entirely destroyed—destroyed.

Chhewna mokhna nad bhairo jarichhay an baba munrichhay mano baba jarichhay mano.

The sacrifice-eating ghosts, O brethren, shall be totally destroyed—destroyed.

Pathiya mokhna nad, bhairo, jarichhay an baba munrichhay mano baba jarichhay mano.

The kid-eating ghosts, O brethren, shall be utterly destroyed—destroyed.

Kher mokhna nad, bhairo, jarichhay an baba munrichhay mano baba jarichhay mano

The fowl-eating ghosts, O brethren, shall be entirely destroyed—destroyed.

Tana Baba tana ki tan tun nana, i namhain purkhar gahi mankha mukhu nadan Tana Baba tana ki tan tun nana.

O, Tana Father, drive out, drive out these buffalo-eating ghosts of our ancestors—do drive them out.

I namhain purkhar gahi bhera mukhu chhaona pathia mokhna kiss mokhna, kher mokhna, jia pitna nadan, Tana Baba, tana ki tan tun nana.

O, Tana Father, drive out the sheep-eating, pig-eating, goat-eating, fowl-eating and life-killing ghosts of our ancestors,—do drive them out.

I namhai tinsimaninta Mataguria nadan hatar hatar kar chela rane bane kar chela bijo bane kar,

O Disciple, drive off the Matguria ghost of the junction of three boundaries ; O Disciple, do pull him to pieces, do destroy him utterly.

I namhain purkhar gahi mankha mokhna nadan hatar hatar kar chela rané bane kar chela bijo bane kar.

O Disciple, drive off this buffalo-eating ghost of our ancestors, do pull him to pieces, destroy him utterly.

### FURTHER PROHIBITIONS.

Aghan Push gahi ulla nu gubari pesna aur injo kakro dharna ora pitna osga chotto arakhna,

It is prohibited to collect cowdung, to catch fish and crab, and to catch birds and to dig out mice and rats, [as is now done] in the months of Aghan and Push,

aur osga, chotto, ora, injo kurna mokhna mana rai aur koi alas gane jhagra jhati manna mana rai,

and also to roast and eat mice, rats, birds and fish ; and it is prohibited to quarrel with any one ;

Aghan, Push, Magh, Phagun gahi ulla nu gubari pesna aur tikhil bhunja bharra hoar dara tonka tonk nal nal ari hede hede nu kaprar dara chuta nakharna mana rai,

it is prohibited [for young men and women] to lie down with one another crouching under the balks in uplands and lowlands [as they generally do] in the months of Aghan, Pus, Magh and Phagun, when they go to collect cowdung taking parched rice with them [to eat];

kukku khadar aur kukoi khadar Sabhapatti nad manna, nad bhut gahi name turu puja path nanna ;

[it is prohibited] for the boys and girls to offer sacrifices to Sabhapati (chief) ghost and other ghosts ;

pachbalar gahi name turu amen tirna aur antle amm othorna, bhut, deo, muā malechh, darha, deswali gahi name turu puja path nanna,

[ it is prohibited ] to drop water in the names of the dead and then to bring out water, and to make offerings to the ghosts and spirits such as *mua*, *malech*, *Darha*, *Deswali*,

*kher erebna*, *kanto chakna*, *mankha khosna*, *banrda pasna*, *ballu chakna*, *bhera khosna*, *era khosna*,

to sacrifice fowls, to whet a knife for sacrificing fowls, to sacrifice a buffalo, and to whet an axe for sacrificing animals and to sacrifice a ram, to beat as a sacrifice an ox to death, to sacrifice a goat,

*kiss pitna*, *kher erebna*, *pachbalar gahi name nanna aur arkhi jhara onna*, *jhara ladna*, *bichchi kamna*,

to kill pigs, and to sacrifice fowls, to take the name of the spirits of the dead, to drink liquor and to prepare beer, to make *bichchi*, (the essential ingredient for the manufacture of beer),

*bichchi khendna* aur *jhara ladna*, *arkhi churukhna* our *bhathi erpa kana* aur *arkhi onna*, *jhara onna*,

to buy *bichchi* and to distil liquor and to go to the liquor shops and drink liquor,

*koi alas gane kalha takrar nanna mana rai*, *aur koi alas gahi chij nu man takan erna mana rai*.

and to quarrel with any man ; and it is prohibited to covet the things of any man.

*Pahilenta chal chalan Oraon sabha*, *Pus parab*, *Magh parab*, *Phagun parab*, *Chait parab*, *jadra bechna*, *Magh purnima*,

The former customs of Oraon society, such as the *Pus* festival, *Magh* festival, *Phagu* festival, *Chait* festival, *Jadura* dance and the full-moon festival in *Magh*,

*jonkh chandi pai chalabana*, *jhakhra pachcho gahi name turu* *pai chalabana*, *mahto bai uina*, *Naeg dharam tikhil uina*,

setting in motion the grinding stone in the *jonkh chandi* ceremony (in the full moon of *Magh* for pur-

poses of election of headmen) and to move the grinding stone in the name of the Jhakhra old woman (Old Lady of the sacred grove) for the election of the Mahto and the Naeg (priest) and setting apart the ceremonial rice,

kher charabana mana rai, jonkh chandi manna pachgo chandi manna mana rai, aur sael sikari gunja pat nanna,

and ceremonially feeding fowls (for sacrifice) are all prohibited ; observing *jonkh chandi* and *pachgi chandi* are prohibited ; hunting and allied customs and ceremonies are prohibited ;

danda katna sindri turna amm kharna aur jonkh jori manna kher erebna bakra khotna suri nanna,

prognostications, applying vermillion, the *amm kharna* ceremony [in the name-giving of a child] and the knitting together of young men in ceremonial friendships and sacrificing fowls and goats and preparing sacrificial *suri* (rice boiled with meat)

hunda nanna gutthi kam mana rai, akhra kamna aur jonkh pello bechna nalna mana rai aur akhra singar nanna mana rai,

and distributing it, and such other practices are prohibited ; preparing the dancing place and the dancing of young men and women together and decorating the dancing-place are prohibited.

### FEVER-DRIVING MANTRAS.

The *Mantras* or spells by which the Tana Bhagats seek to drive out the Fever-spirit and other disease-spirits through threats of beating are particularly characteristic of the animistic Oraon.

A specimen of these *mantras* is given below :—

Gunias gahi chichka nari sarge num rahachki chutki ti laon mutki ti urhiaroe, banduk ti laon nanri sanduk ti urhiaro,

O, thou Fever, having been produced by the wizard

thou wert in the abyss. I shall drive thee away with a fillip and thou shalt fly away in haste ; I shall assail thee with a gun and thou shalt fly away in a moment ; guliti laon nanri top ti urhiaro chiari ti laon nanri dhanu ti urhiaro ;

I shall strike thee with a bullet and thou shalt vanish like a cannon shot ; I shall shoot at thee, O Fever, with an arrow and thou shalt fly away in an instant ; kaloe nanri kaloe sire sir kaloe pire pir kaloe, kaloe nanri kaloe ganga samudar kaloe.

thou shalt go away, O Fever, thou shalt flee away, from every nerve and vein (of thy victim) thou shalt take flight, thou shalt fly away, O Fever, to the Ganges and to the seas, thou shalt fly away.

A few more specimens of Tana Songs and hymns are given below with free translations.

### TANA HYMNS AND SONGS.

(1) Bara bara Baba Iswar Baba chalinum bara Baba balinum bara. Come God our Father, come into our yard and into our door,

'Baba' 'Baba' badar haro bhairo, Babas namhain jiya num radas haro bhairo, Babas namhain kaya num radas.

O brethren, 'Father', 'Father',—you call, [but] our Father is within our heart and within our body.

Nikkim gane kalha takrar ambke nana kudda haro bhairo ; Babas namhain jiya num radas,

O brethren, do not quarrel with any one ; our Father, O brethren, is within our heart.

'Baba' badar haro bhairo Dharme Babas jiya num radas.

O brethren, you (lift your voice and) call out—'Father', [but] God our Father is [indeed] within our heart.

(2) Ne gane hun dumbi chauwai ambke nana kudda haro bhairo, Dharme Babas thikem ga radas.

O brethren, do not back-bite any one, God our Father is just.

Khuri bati nu ambke chirgaparga kudda haro bhairo, Dharme Babas sojhem ga radas.

O brethren, do not slander [others] about in streets and lanes, God our Father is straight indeed.

Ne gane hun kalha takrar ambke nana kudda haro bhairo, Dharme Babas thikem erdas.

O brethren, do not quarrel and altercate with any one, God our Father sees us aright.

(3) Chocha dara kera Baba, bonga dara kera, Darha nadad chocha  
dara kera Baba, nad paki chocha dara kera Baba.

Ran away, O Father, fled away, the Darha ghost  
ran away, O Father, all the ghosts fled away.

nad paki bonga dara kera.  
all the ghosts ran away.

Chocha dara kera Baba bonga dara kera Baba, kal jugad chocha  
dara kera Baba, pap jugad bonga dara kera.

O Father, the Kali Yug is finished ; it is used up,  
O Father, the age of sin is spent up.

Chocha dara kera Baba, bonga dara kera Baba, Badi mudai chocha  
dara kera Baba, pap duniya chocha dara kera.

No more, O Father, no more, the obstinate enemies [of man] are no more—O Father, the world (age) of sin is ended.

Chocha dara kera Baba bonga dara kera, addo pitna chocha dara kera, Baba, mankha pitna chocha dara kera.

O Father, no more, no more of killing the ox, O  
Father, no more of killing the buffalo, no more.

Baba kiss pitna chocha dara kera.

O Father, no more shall there be killing of the pig.  
Hukum dim malla Baba, hukum dim malla Baba, jiya pitna hukum  
dim malla Baba. Dharmes tarti jiya pitna hukum dim malla.

No permission, O Father, there is no permission to take a life, there is no permission; from God our

Father there is no permission to kill a life.

Baba ahra mokhna hukum dim malla, hukum dim malla, Baba, hukum dim malla, arkhi jhara onna hukum dim malla, Baba, Kunrukhar ge nad manna hukum dim malla.

O Father, there is no permission—no permission—to eat meat, O Father, there is no permission to drink liquor or beer, O Father, there is no permission for the Oraons to worship ghosts.

(4) Tana Baba ki tan tun nana, tinsimaninta Ulatguria nadan Tana Baba tana ki tan tun nana.

O Tana Father, drive out the Ulatguria ghost of the junction of three boundaries, O Father, drive it out.

I dhartinta Ulatguria nadan Tana Baba tana ki tan tun nana.

O Tana Father, drive out the Ulatguria ghost of this earth.

I rajinta Ulatguria nadan Tana Baba tana ki tan tun nana.

O Tana Father, drive out the Ulatguria ghost of this country.

I rajinta palinta mankha mukhu nadan Tana Baba tana ki tan tun nana.

O Tana Father, drive out the buffalo-eating ghost of this country.

I palinta bhera mukhu nadan Tana Baba tana ki tan tun nana.

O Tana Father, drive out the ram-eating ghost of this world.

I namhai purkhar gahi hakal dakal nadan Tana Baba tana ki tan tun nana.

O Tana Father, drive out these hungry ghosts of our ancestors.

I namhai jatiar gahi patiar gahi khuta data nadan Tana Baba tana ki tan tun nana.

O Tana Father, drive out these *khunt dant* ghosts of our race and tribe.

I namhain akhranta jhakhranta pap nadan Tana Baba tana ki tan tun nana.

O Tana Father, drive out these wicked ghosts of our akhras (dancing places) and jhakras ('sacred groves').

(5) Bara Baba Dharme chalimum bara baba, chalimum bara baba, akil geyan chia baba budhi geyan chia.

Come thou, O God, our Father, come into our yards, come inside our doors, give us wisdom and give us knowledge and discernment.

Hanth jor binti nandan, bah jor arji nandan, ninghai nim dhyan nandan baba dinem ratim nandan.

I pray to Thee with folded hands and make supplication with crossed arms, and meditate on Thee day and night.

Baba sanjhe bihan dhyan nandan, Baba manal danal nadan baba posal nasal nadan baba khuta data nadan,

O, Father, I think of Thee morn and eve, do Thou drive away and expel the ghosts which we so long cherished and worshipped—the ghosts of the household and of *khunts* and *dants*,

Mua malech nadan baba dain bisahi nadan, baba, ojha mati nadan baba, hataye nana baba bataye nana.

And the *mua malechh* ghosts and the familiars of witches and wizards and the familiars of sorcerers;

Hataro kalo baba baharo kalo baba ganga kinare baba sona gahi sikri baba rupa gahi sikri baba, badhan kalo baba chhandhan kalo baba ;

They will be driven away to the banks of the Ganges ; they will be tied up in golden and silver chains, ganga kinare baba jamuna kinare baba sona gahi dhilwa baba

On the banks of the Ganga and Jamuna they will swing in golden swings,

Rupa gahi dhilwa baba jhukuru kalo baba, jhukuru kalo dhasro kalo baba boharo kalo baba.

They will swing in silver swings, they will be utterly ruined, they will be cast down and swept away.

Chhiparo kalo baba, chhaparo kalo baba, jiya machhar ahar mano  
puthi machhar ahar mano baba gisu machhar ahar

They will vanish away, they will eat *jiya* fish and  
*puthi* fish and *gitu* fish.

Baba jino machhar ahar baba ghunghi sewanr ahar baba chimti  
pipri ahar baba bar pipar ahar baba pipar dumber ahar.

They will eat *budu* fish and shells and mosses, *pipal*  
figs, ants and flies, and *baniyan* fruits.

Baba ala pahare baba nala pahare baba ghirni num koro baba  
phatak num koro baba pinjra num koro baba.

Beyond the hills and mountains they will be entrapped  
in snares and they will enter into gates and cages.

Jingi juga baba janmo juga Baba hinkki rao baba muchinkki rao baba.  
For ever and ever, O Father, they will be tied up,  
they will be shut up.

(6) Bara Baba Bhagwan Baba chali nera Baba bali nera, bara  
Baba hath jor binti nandam,

Come Father, O Bhagwan Father, come to see our  
yard and door, we pray Thee with folded hands,  
Dinem ratim dhyan nandam, dinem ratim dhyan nandam sanjhe  
bihane gyan nandam.

We meditate on Thee day and night, we think of Thee  
morn and eve.

Barae ayo, Sita ayo, chali nera barae ayo, bali nera barae ayo,  
erpa nera barae ayo bali nera barae ayo.

Come Mother, O Sita Mother, come to see our yards,  
Mother, come to see our houses.

Sabha nera barae ayo, khondha nera barae ayo, sabha nera barae  
ayo, jalsa nera barae ayo, khondha nera barae ayo.

O Mother, come to see our gathering, come to see  
our congregation, come to see our assembly, come  
to see our festivals and meetings.

Bara baba Suraj baba, chali num bara baba bali num bara, bali  
num bara, baba, erpa num bara baba.

O Suraj Father, come and visit our yards, come  
Father, visit our doors, Father, visit our houses.

Bara baba kachhairi num bara baba, thana num bara baba, phandi num bara baba, dahre num bara baba,

Come, Father, to the Kachhari and to the Police Station, come Father to the cattle-pound ; come Father (be with us) in our journeys.

Bara Baba bate num bara Baba ijka adda num bara Baba ukka adda num bara Baba ijka adda num bara Baba ;

Come to me on the road, come where I am standing, come Father where I am sitting, come Father where I am standing.

Jiya num bara Baba kaya num bara Baba hirdai num bara Baba kanthe num bara Baba,

O Father, come into our hearts and bodies, come into our hearts and bowels,

Kutthi num bara Baba bhandar num bara Baba, Bhagwan Baba ho ninim dhanya Baba.

Come, Father, to our go-downs, come to our store-houses.

O Father Bhagwan, Thou alone art blessed.

Sargentim bara Baba, patalentim bara Baba, bhuin phut nurkha Baba, dharti phut nera Baba, sukh lele bara Baba.

Father, come from heaven, come from the nether-world, come out of the clefts of the earth, come to see the splitting of the earth, come Father bringing happiness.

In this last song, it will be seen that Sita is invoked as a spirit. Indeed, in the Oraon pantheon, Sita is identified with Parvati (the consort of Siva) and described as the wife of Dharines or the Sun-god--the Supreme Deity. But, besides Sita, other Hindu deities such as Indra, Ganesh, Jagarnath, etc., are, it will be seen, also invoked by the Tana Bhagat. In fact, every being known or heard of as the possessor of superhuman or supernatural

power is invoked by the Tanas as by other animists. A specimen of such an invocation is the following :—

Sita ayo ke chela aroji an chela binti nana, chela dhyanim an chela gyanim nana.

O Disciple, pray to mother Sita and make your supplication, O Disciple, meditate and think (of her).

Chandra Babasin aroji an chela binti nanna chela aroji an chela binti nana chela dhanim an chela gyanim nana.

O Disciple, pray to Father Moon and make supplication, O Disciple, pray, meditate and think (of him).

Tarigan Babasin aroji an chela binti nana, chela, aroji an chela binti nana, chela, dhyanim an chela gyanim nana.

O Disciple, pray to Father Tarigan (Starry Host) and make supplication, O Disciple, meditate and think (of him).

Lakshman Babasin aroji an chela binti nana, chela, aroji an chela binti nana, chela dhyanim an chela gyanim nana

O Disciple, pray to Father Lakshman, make your supplication, O Disciple, meditate and think (of him).

Bharat Babasin aroji an chela binti nana, chela, aroji an chela binti nana, chela, dhyanim an chela gyanim nana.

O Disciple, pray to Father Bharat, make your supplication, O Disciple, meditate and think (of him).

Satrughan Babasin aroji an chela binti nana, chela, aroji an chela binti nana, chela, dhaynim an chela gyanim nana.

O Disciple, pray to Father Satrughan, make your supplication, O Disciple, meditate and think (of him).

Hindu Babasin aroji an chela binti nana, chela, aroji an chela binti nana, chela, dhyanim an chela gyanim nana.

O Disciple, pray to Hindu Father, make your supplication, O Disciple, meditate and think (of him)

Ganesh Babasin aroji an chela binti nana, chela, aroji an chela binti nana, chela, dhyanim an chela gyanim nana.

O Disciple, pray to Father Ganesh, make your supplication, O Disciple, meditate and think (of him).

Bramha Babasin aroji an chela binti nana, chela, aroji an chela binti nana, chela, dhyanim an chela gyanim nana.

O Disciple, pray to Father Bramha, make your supplication, O Disciple, meditate and think (of him).

Indraji Babasin aroji an chela binti nana, chela, aroji an chela binti nana, chela dhyanim an chela gyanim nana.

O Disciple, pray to Father Indra, make your supplication, O Disciple, meditate and think (of him).

Mahadeo Babasin aroji an chela binti nana, chela, aroji an chela binti nana, chela, dhyanim an chela gyanim nana.

O Disciple, pray to Father Mahadeo, make your supplication, O Disciple, meditate and think (of him).

Lakhan Babasin aroji an chela binti nana, chela, aroji an chela binti nana, chela, dhyanim an chela gyanim nana.

O Disciple, pray to Father Lakshman, make your supplication, O Disciple, meditate and think (of him).

Jagarnath Babasin aroji an chela binti nana, chela, aroji an chela binti nana, chela, dhyanim an chela gyanim nana.

O Disciple, pray to Father Jagarnath, make your supplication, O Disciple, meditate and think (of him).

Jodhaji Babasin aroji an chela binti nana, chela, aroji an chela binti nana, chela, dhyanim an chela gyanim nana.

O Disciple, pray to Father Jodhaji, make your supplication, O Disciple, meditate and think (of him).

Gunibani Babasin aroji an chela binti nana, chela, aroji an chela binti nana, chela, dhyanim an chela gyanim nana.

O Disciple, pray to Father Gunibani, make your supplication, O Disciple, meditate and think (of him).  
Baba ayon aroji an chela binti nana, chela, aroji an chela binti nana, chela, dhyanim an chela gyanim nana.

O Disciple, pray to Father and Mother, make your supplication, O Disciple, meditate and think (of them).

Finally, I give below some further Tana Songs with both literal translations and free translations :—

Chalera lagi baba chalera lagi, Baba, Sat Yug chalera lagi, Baba, Sat Yug.

[Goes on Father, goes on Father, Sat Yug goes on, Father, Sat Yug.]

O Father, the Sat Yuga (the Golden Age) is going on, O Father going on.

Chalera lagi Baba chalera lagi, Baba, Tana parhna chalera lagi, Baba, Tana.

[Goes on, Father, goes on, Father, Tanaism goes on, Father, Tanaism.]

O Father, Tanaism is going on, O Father,—going on.

Chalera lagi Baba chalera lagi, Baba, Ram Bhagti chalera lagi, Baba Dharam.

[Goes on, Father, goes on, Father, Ram Devotion goes on Father, Devotion.]

O Father, Devotion to Ram is going on, O Father,—going on.

Chalera lagi Baba chalera lagi Dharam parhna chalera lagi Baba Dharam.

[Goes on, Father, goes on, Religious instruction goes on Father, Religion.]

O Father, Religious instruction is going on, O Father,—going on.

Chalera lagi Baba chalera lagi Baba, Dharmes gahi daya chalera lagi, Baba, Dharmes.

[Goes on, Father, goes on, Father, God's grace goes on, Father—God's grace.]

O Father, God's grace is spreading, O Father,—spreading,

Chalera lagi Baba chalera lagi, Baba, niti Bhagti chalera lagi, Baba, niti.

[Going on, Father, going on, Father, rites and devotion going on Father,—rites.]

O Father, religious rites and devotions are being practised, O Father,—being practised.

Chalera lagi Baba chalera lagi, Baba, Dharmes gahi hukum chalera lagi Baba.

[Goes on, Father, goes on, Father, God's commandment goes on, Father.]

O Father, God's commandments are being obeyed,  
Father,—being obeyed.

Chalera lagi Baba chalera lagi, Baba, Dharmes gahi name chalera  
lagi, Baba.

[Going on, Father, going on, Father, Gods' name going  
on, Father.]

O Father, the name of God is spreading, O Father,  
spreading.

Chalera lagi Baba chalera lagi Baba, Dharmes gahi Kanun chalera  
lagi Baba.

[Going on, Father, going on, Father, God's Law going on,  
Father.]

O Father, the law of God is being accepted, O Father,  
being accepted.

Chalera lagi, Baba, chalera lagi, Baba, Dharmes gahi nisaph  
chalera lagi, Baba.

[Going on, Father, going on, Father, God's justice going  
on, Father.]

O Father, God's justice is reigning, O Father, is  
reigning.

Chalera lagi Baba chalera lagi Baba, Dharmes gahi bachan chalera  
lagi Baba.

[Going on, Father, going on, Father, God's word is going on,  
Father.]

O Father, the word of God is being propagated,  
O Father, being propagated.

## DHARAM TANA UPDESH PRAKASHIT.

[ TANA DOCTRINE REVEALED. ]

Dharmi Babas gahi daya tule amm dim dudhi, Baba, dhulidium dhup Baba dhulidim.

[God Father's grace through, water itself milk, Father, dust itself incense, Father, dust itself.]

Through the grace of God our Father, even water is milk and dust is incense. <sup>(1)</sup>

Sita ayo gahi daya tule dhuli dim dhup Baba, dheka dim chichch Baba dheka dim.

[Sita Mother's grace through, dust itself incense, Father, clod of earth itself fire, Father, clod of earth itself.]

Through the grace of mother Sita even dust is incense, Father, and a clod of earth is fire.

Surjan Babas gahi daya turu dhekadim chichch Baba, dhekadim chichch.

[Sun Father's grace through, clod of earth itself fire, Father, clod of earth itself fire.]

Through the grace of Father Sun even a clod of earth is fire.

Dharme Baba name name dhyanim nandan Baba gyanim nandan.

[God Father by names I meditate, Father, I meditate.]

O God my Father, I meditate on Thee calling Thee by all Thy names.

Sita ayo name name dhyanim nandan Baba gyanim nandan.

[Sita mother by names I meditate, O Father, I meditate.]

O Mother Sita, I meditate on Thee, calling Thee by all Thy names.

Chandar Baba hoy name name dhyanim nandan Baba gyanim nandan.

[Moon Father by names I meditate, Father, meditate.]

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(<sup>1</sup>) The purport is that water is as acceptable to God as an offering as milk, and dust is as acceptable as incense. To Him there is no difference between the one and the other.

O Father Moon, I meditate on Thee, calling Thee by all Thy names.

Arkha chekhel mokha mokha dhyanim nandan Baba gyanim nandan.

[Vegetables eating eating I meditate, Father, I meditate.]

O Father, living on vegetables I meditate on Thee, I meditate.

Ledra chithra kura banchra dhyanim nandan Baba gyanim nandan.

[Rags clothed I meditate Father I contemplate.]

Clothed in rags I meditate on Thee, I meditate.

Papi mudai nadan Baba hataiyo nana Baba bataiyo nana.

[Wicked ghost Father drive off, Father, scatter abroad.]

O Father, do Thou drive off and scatter abroad the wicked ghost.

I rajinta dukh piran Baba hataiyo nana Baba bataiyo nana.

[This world's miseries, Father, drive off, Father, scatter abroad.]

O Father, do Thou drive off and scatter abroad the miseries of this world.

I dhartinta rog balayn Baba hataiyo nana Baba bataiyo nana.

[This world's diseases Father drive off, Father, clear away.]

O Father, do thou drive off the diseases of this world.

I prithiwinta dust papi rin Baba hataiyo nana Baba bataiyo nana.

[This world's wicked men, Father, drive off, Father, cast off].

O Father, destroy and cast out the wicked men of this world.

I duniyanta dusman papi rin hataiyo nana Baba bataiyo nana.

[This world's enemies sinners drive off, Father, cast out.]

O Father, destroy and cast out the sinful enemies of this world.

I gotta mulkanta satru muday rin Baba hatayo nana Baba batayio nana.

[This whole world's wicked enemies, Father, drive off, Father, cast out.]

O Father, do Thou cast out and destroy the wicked enemies of this world.

Dharam dharam gunan Baba ondrar chiya Baba ondrar chiya.  
[All good qualities (and) virtues Father bring hither Father give.]

O Father, do Thou vouchsafe to us all the virtues, adorn us with all good qualities.

Dharam dharam rajin Baba ondrar chiya Baba ondrar chiya.  
[Religious kingdom, Father, bring and give, Father, give.]

O Father, do Thou bring and establish Thy Holy kingdom.

Dharam buddhin Baba ondrar chiya Baba ondrar chia.  
[Religious consciousness, Father, bring on, Father, give.]

O Father, do Thou awaken in us religious consciousness.

Dharam dharam sukhan Baba ondrar chia Baba ondrar chia.  
[All religious happiness, Father, bring on, Father, give.]

O Father, vouchsafe to us the happiness that religion brings.

Dharam dharam dhanan Baba ondrar chia Baba ondrar chia.  
[All religious wealth, Father, bring on, Father, give.]

O Father, do Thou vouchsafe to us all spiritual treasures, give us all that enrich the soul.

Dharam dharam jiyan Baba ondrar chia Baba ondrar chia.  
[Religious life, Father, bring on, Father, give.]

O Father, do Thou enable us to lead a pious life.

Dharam balbachchan Baba ondrar chia Baba ondrar chia.  
[Pious children, Father, bring on, Father, give.]

O Father, may we have pious children, give us virtuous offspring.

Dharam sochan bachan Baba ondrar chia Baba ondrar chia.  
[All pious thoughts and words, Father, bring on, Father, give.]

O Father, do Thou inspire in us pure thoughts and speech.

Dharam dharam barkha panin Baba ondrar chia baba ondrar chia.  
[Virtuous rains, Father, bring on, Father, give.]

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O Father, do Thou vouchsafe to us beneficent rains.

Dharam dharam jiya kayan Baba ondrar chia Baba ondrar chia.

[Pious bodies, Father, bring on, Father, give.]

O Father, do Thou vouchsafe to us pure lives and bodies.

Dharam dharam rasi barakat Baba ondrar chia Baba ondrar chia.

[All good blessings, Father, bring on, Father, give.]

O Father, do Thou shower on us Thy best blessings.

Ana Dharme Baba hoy name name chikham lagdam Baba chikham lagdam.

[O God, Father, by names weeping indeed, Father, crying indeed.]

O God, our Father, weeping and crying we invoke Thee by all Thy names.

Bhagwan Baba hoy name name chikham lagdam Baba olkham lagdam.

[Bhagwan Father, by names weeping indeed, Father, crying indeed]

O Bhagwan Father, weeping and crying we invoke Thee by all Thy names.

Suraj Chandra Baba hoy name name chikham lagdam Baba olkham lagdam.

[Sun Moon Father, by name weeping indeed, Father, crying indeed.]

O Sun, O Moon, Fathers, weeping and crying we invoke you by name.

He Dharti parthi Baba hoy name name chikham lagdam Baba olkham lagdam.

[O Earth Father, by name weeping indeed, Father, crying indeed]

O Earth Father, weeping and crying we invoke Thee by name.

Eh Hindu Siw Baba hoy name name chikham lagdam Baba olkham lagdam.

[O Hindu Siva Father, by name weeping indeed, Father, crying indeed.]

O Hindu Siva Father, weeping and crying we invoke Thee by name.

Eh Ganga Jamuna Baba hoy name name chikham lagdam Baba olkham lagdam.

[O Ganges Jamuna Father, by name weeping indeed, Father, crying indeed.]

O Fathers Ganges and Jamuna, weeping and crying we invoke you by name.

Eh ayo baba name name chikhdam lagdam Baba olkham lagdam.

[O Mother and Father, by name weeping indeed, Father, crying indeed.]

O Mother and Father, weeping and crying we invoke you by name.

## TANA BHAJAN.

(1) Hindus Babas bhairo updesh an Baba updesn nanjas Baba updesh nanjas.

[Hindu Father brethren instruction gave Father instruction gave Father instruction gave.]

O Brethren, the Hindu Father instructed us brethren, he instructed us (in the true religion).

Dharne babas bhairo updesh an Baba \* updesh nanjas Baba updesh nanjas.

[God Father, brethren, instruction gave, Father instrution gave, Father instruction gave.]

O Brethren, God the Father instructed us, brethren, he instructed us in the true religion.

Sita ayo bhairo updesh an Baba updesh nanja Baba updesh nanja.

[Sita mother, brethren, instruction, Father, instruction gave, Father, instruction gave.]

O Brethren, Mother Sita instructed us, brethren, instructed us in the true religion.

Hindu Babasin aroji an Baba binti nana.

[To Hindu Father supplication, Father, prayer offer.]

O Brother, offer supplication and prayer to the Hindu Father.

Hindu Babasin dhyanim an Baba gyanim nana.

[Hindu Father think of, Father, meditate upon.]

O Brother, do thou meditate upon the Hindu Father.

Hindu Babas ge ond tippa ammnim chia Baba ammnim.

[Hindu Father for, one drop water give, Father, water.]

O Brother, do thou offer a drop of water to Hindu Father, a drop of water.

Sita ayo gahi name Baba ond tippa ammin chia Baba ammin.

[Sita mother's name, Father, one drop water give, Father, water.]

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\* The Tana Bhagat uses the term 'Baba' (father) both in addressing a fellow-man and in addressing a deity. In the free translations given here, the word has been translated by the term 'brother' when used in addressing a fellowman, and by the term 'Father' when used in reference to a deity.

O Brother, do thou offer a drop of water in the name of Mother Sita.

Sita ayo gahi name nana Baba arjian Baba binti nana.

[Sita mother's name do, Father, supplication, Father, prayer offer.]

In the name of Mother Sita, do thou offer supplication and prayer.

Ayo Babar gane Baba sabha nana.

[Mother Father with, Father, congregation make.]

O Brother, do thou join in prayers with thy parents.

Ayo Babar gane Baba panti okkot Baba sabha okkot.

[Mother Father with, Father, side by side let us sit, Father, sit in congregation.]

O Brother, we shall sit side by side with our parents, side by side shall we sit with them in the congregation.

Sabha okkot dara Baba asanim parhot Baba likhot Baba sawalim nanot.

[Congregation we shall sit and, Father, there we shall learn Father, we shall write, Father, we shall ask questions.]

Brother, we shall sit in the congregation and there learn [the true religion], Brother, [there] we shall ask questions.

Asanim Baba Ganga emot Baba Jamna emot bura haro Baba.

[There indeed, Father, in the Ganges we shall bathe Father, in the Jamuna we shall bathe, come brethren.]

There we shall purify ourselves as by bathing in the Ganges and in the Jamuna; therefore, come ye my brethren.

Bara bara Baba Hindu Babar ekesan radar Baba bedda ge bardan.

[Come, come, Brethren, Hindu Brethren where you are Brethren to seek I come.]

Come, O Hindu brethren, come,—where are you?—  
I come to seek you.

Nekim Hindur radar hole ond tippa ammnim Baba ond tippa ammnim chia.

[Any Hindus if there are one drop, Father, one drop water give.]

If there are any Hindu Bhagats here, let them give one drop of water.

(2) Dharne Babas gahi daya turu name name bhajan bhaja chela bhajan bhaja.

[God Father of grace through by names hymns sing disciple hymns sing.]

Through the grace of God the Father, do thou sing hymns to God by His different names, O Disciple.

Sita ayo gahi daya turu name name bhajan bhaja bhajan bhaja.

[Sita mother of grace through hymns sing, disciple, hymns sing.]

Through the grace of Mother Sita, do thou sing hymns to Her, O Disciple, do thou sing hymns.

Suraj Babas gahi daya turu name name bhajan bhaja Chela bhajan bhajan.

[Sun Father's grace through, in name hymns sing, Disciple, hymns sing.]

Through the grace of Father Sun, do thou sing hymns, O Disciple, do thou sing hymns to Him.

Chandra Babas gahi daya turu name name bhajan bhaja chela bhajan bhajan.

[Moon Father's grace through in his name sing, Disciple, hymns sing.]

Through the grace of Father Moon, do thou sing hymns in His praise, O Disciple.

Tarigan Babas gahi daya turu name name bhajan bhaja bhajan bhaja.

[Star Father's grace through hymns sing Disciple, hymns sing.]

Through the grace of Father Star, do thou sing hymns, O Disciple, sing hymns.

Ram Lachman Babas gahi daya turu name name bhajan bhaja Chela bhajan bhaja.

[Ram Lachman Father's grace through in name hymns sing  
disciple hymns sing.]

Through the grace of Ram Lachman, do thou sing  
hymns in their names, O Disciple, do thou sing hymns.  
Bharat Babas gahi daya turu name name bhajan bhaja Chela bhajan  
bhaja,

[Bharat Father's grace through in name hymns sing  
disciple hymns sing.]

Through the grace of Father Bharat do thou sing  
hymns in his name, O Disciple, do thou sing hymns.  
Satruhan Babas gahi daya turu name name bhajan bhaja Chela  
bhajan bhaja.

[Satrughan Father's grace through in name hymns sing  
disciple hymns sing.]

Through the grace of Father Satrughan, do thou  
sing hymns in his name, O Disciple, do thou sing  
hymns.

Hindu Babas gahi daya turu name name bhajan bhaja Chela bhajan  
bhaja.

[Hindu Father's grace through in name hymns sing disciple  
hymns sing.]

Through the grace of Hindu Father do thou sing  
hymns in his name, O Disciple, do thou sing hymns.\*

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\*I am indebted to the Oraon graduate, Mr. Yuel Lakra, for  
valuable assistance in the translations of the Oraon passages.

In some of these songs, as we have seen, the followers of this new faith are instructed to give up all intoxicants and animal food, as well

**Tana Rules of Pure conduct.** as their old habits of dancing at the *akhras*, holding *jatras*, and engaging in hunting expeditions. Bedecking their persons with jewellery or decorating their bodies with tatoo marks or wearing clothes with coloured borders are generally interdicted. One section of the Tanas, however, does not appear to have yet given up jewellery or clothes. As for the old Oraon practices of witch-craft and propitiation of *bhuts*, the new religion, as we have seen, actually had its origin in a revolt against them. "Niti Dharmi alarghi nadehu mala, Baba, bhutehu mala": "For the men (followers) of the good and true (Tana) religion there are no spirits or *bhuts*" is declared to be the cardinal principle of the religion, and the Tana prays—"Erpanta pa'linta manal danal nadan, Tana, Baba, tana," "All the spirits of the house and of the door that so long we sought to appease,—do pull them all (down)." Lying and theft are strictly forbidden to the Tanas, and ceremonial cleanliness strictly enjoined. Earthen cooking and drinking vessels have to be thrown away as polluted when touched by unclean animals such as pigs, fowls, or dogs. Cooking-pots are also considered polluted by the occurrence of a birth or death in a family. Even red *sag* (edible leaves) are not eaten because red is the colour of blood.

Mutual assistance among the *Tanas* is laid down as a duty and their disputes and differences are re-

quired to be settled by the *mandali* or congregation. And a Tana not abiding by the decision of the *mandali* may be excommunicated. Indeed they are enjoined not to abuse anyone—not even a stranger. In one of their songs they sing, "Khuri-batinu amke keba kudda," "Do not abuse others (even) while you are walking (on the roads)." Thursday is the Sabbath of the Tanas, as this being the day considered sacred to Lachhmi (goddess of wealth) by the Hindus, all cattle (which is the Lachhmi of agriculturists) must have rest that day. The term 'Lachhmi', it may be noted, is also popularly applied to the cow by the Hindus. A Tana must address all fellowmen, old and young, as 'Baba' (Father) the same term that they apply to the gods. Men and other animals, according to the Tana, have one and the same life (*onta jia*), so that no harm should be done to anything living. And God or the Divine spirit is believed to exist within every human being. And so the Tana sings—

"Babas babas badar, Bhairo,  
Babas nainhai jianu ras."

"O Brothers, you call [upon God, crying] 'Father,  
Father',

but the Father is really (all the time) within you."

On Thursdays, the Tanas must assemble and sing their hymns in chorus in local congregations. *Homa* or offering oblation of clarified butter (*ghee*) into fire in the name of God Dharmes is performed in all Tana families on Thursdays, and it is only after this *homa* that the members of the family bathe and cook food. In the evening, after the day's work, the Tanas must sing sacred hymns. Thus they sing—

"Biriputta nalakhnandam, Baba, nalakhnandam;  
Ningan Dharme Baba modhordam, Baba modhordam", and so on—

"Till sun-set we work, Father,  
( But how often ) Thee, Oh God, we forget."

In consonance with their new ideas as to the need of ceremonial purity, the Tana socio-religious customs. necessity of abstinence from drinking and flesh-eating, music and dancing, the leaders of the Tana movement have considerably modified and simplified the old Oraon customs connected with birth, death, and marriage.

For five days after parturition, the parturient female has to remain secluded in a part of the hut and is not allowed to touch cooking vessels or drinking-water to be used by others. On the sixth Birth customs. day, near relatives are invited to the house, and the members of the family as well as kinsmen have their nails pared. The floor of the hut and the *angan* or open space in front of the hut are swept clean and besmeared with a coating of cowdung diluted in water. Water sanctified by dipping into it a few *Tulsi* leaves and a bit of copper or, if available, a bit of gold, is sprinkled on all members of the family including the baby and its mother and on all relatives and guests by way of purification ; members of the family also drink a few drops of this purificatory water. Well-to-do relatives bring presents of rice, pulses, and molasses in place of rice-beer which they used to

bring before. And in place of liquor with which formerly guests were entertained, a *sherbet* prepared by diluting molasses in water is supplied to them. No meat or liquor, but, if possible, cow's milk or buffalo milk is included in the *menu* of the feast that brings the day's proceedings to a close. The old Oraon customs and ceremonies with regard to name-giving, ear-piercing and eating the first rice have been given up by the Tanas.

The Oraon practice of *Dhuku* or 'Intrusion marriage (that is to say, the so-called marriage of a male with a female who enters the house of the former

**Marriage customs.** with a view to living as his wife against the will of his people and manages to stay on until acknowledged as wife) is not permitted by the *Tanas*, although widow-marriage is not interdicted. The old practice of sending a go-between (*agia*) to negotiate marriages is discountenanced. A Tana wishing to marry his boy or girl signifies his desire to the Tana congregation to which he belongs. At one of its Thursday meetings some one proposes the match and if the guardians of the proposed boy and girl are agreeable the match is settled. Although, as is the custom amongst the unconverted Oraons, two or three ceremonial visits are exchanged between the bridegroom's relatives and the bride's relatives, the old customary practice of omen-reading is forbidden to the Tanas, and no drinking is, of course, permitted. The old practice of bride-price has not been given up; but the old custom which required the bridegroom to supply one cloth to the bride's

mother and another to the bride's brother has been made optional, and it is further laid down that these latter presents must not, in any case, be made on the day of the wedding as in that case poor people who have not means enough to buy such presents may feel humiliated. The hour of sun-rise has been adopted as the appropriate time for a marriage. No musical instrument made of animal-hide may be used. Only such instruments as metal bells (*ghanta*), bugles (*narsingha*), blow-pipes (*bher*) and conches (*sankh*) may be used. Before the wedding, the bride and bridegroom as well as their parents have to bathe. The bride and bridegroom are then seated on *sal*-leaves stitched together. A lamp fed with clarified butter (*ghee*) is lighted and a new earthen jug filled with water with three sheaves of paddy sticking out of its mouth, is placed before the pair. Bride and bridegroom anoint each other's forehead with sandal-wood paste instead of vermillion, because the latter is used in the propitiation of the *bhuts* which the Tanas have given up. The pair finally offer oblations of water to Bhagwan or God.

The Tanas have given up the Oraon custom of burning the dead body, because they consider that smelling the fumes of cremation would be tantamount to tasting or eating human flesh.

**Death customs.** The corpse is accordingly buried after sprinkling on it water into which a bit of gold or, failing that, copper and *tulsi*-leaves have been dipped. On the tenth day after a death, similar sanctifying water is sprinkled all over the house to remove the death-pollution, and near

relatives taste each a drop of such water for ceremonial purification. Those who can afford to do so, also burn *ghee* by way of purification and some offer milk or water in the name of Mahadeo, now a popular Hindu deity. Finally, a feast to fellow-*Tanas*, particularly relatives, is provided. Liquor or meat, it need hardly be said, forms no part of the menu.

A candidate for admission into the *Kurukh Dharam* or the *Tana* faith, has to undergo a ceremonial purification by taking the same sanctify-

**Initiation ceremony.**

ing draught consisting of water in which a bit of gold, a bit of copper and a few *Tulsi* leaves have been

dipped. He is then taken on as a probationer for a period of either three or six or sometimes twelve months, according to the kind of life he has lived till then. During this period of probation or novitiate the strictness of his observance of the injunctions and prohibitions of the new faith is closely watched, and if, at the end of the term, he is declared fit for full membership, he has to provide a feast to his friends and relatives belonging to the Kurukh Dharam and is then admitted to such full membership by these *Tana* friends and relatives eating with him. If, however, he is not declared to be yet fit for membership, the period of apprenticeship may be extended up to a maximum of three years.

The *Tana* Bhagats do not take cooked food at the hands of any one except a person of their own

faith, nor enter into marital relations with non-*Tanas*.

The extreme section of the *Tanas* Inter-dining and Inter-marriage are said to have given up widow-marriage. The customs and practices I have given above are generally in vogue amongst the main body of the *Tanas*. But it was not long after the movement started that differences as to the proper observances to be followed arose between the followers of the movement, and the *Tanas* split up into three or four sections. It is only in certain details that there arose differences in the practices of these different sections of *Tanas*.

The customs described above are those followed by the main body of *Tanas* who may be called the

Moderate and Puritan *Tanas* but  
Different Sections of the Ram-Bhakats. Another section of  
*Tanas*.

the *Tanas* more Hinduised than the rest are sometimes called Bāchidan Bhakats as they are said to have originally taken vows of the Bhakti Dharam by touching the cow's tail and in some cases presenting cows or calves (*Bachchi*) to Brahmins. These have not eschewed the use of jewellery and bordered clothes, and make offerings to such Hindu deities as Devi and Durga. The more extreme section of the Tana Bhagats or Bhakats have given up the cultivation of land partly on the ground of cruelty to cattle or *Lachmi*. Agrarian grievances have supplied an additional motive or excuse for this abstention from cultivation and refusal to pay rents and taxes.

The moderate section consider their duty to cattle sufficiently discharged by giving them rest on Thursdays and also allowing them respite from work when they appear tired or over-worked. Some members of the extreme section went to the length of letting loose all their cattle and throwing away the store of rice and paddy that they had in their houses. Members of this party are known as Sibu's party from the name of one of their leaders. But a reaction appears to have set in; and this section appears to have since executed a *volte face* and taken to eating food cooked by anybody and relapsed into their old habits of drinking and flesh-eating.

Led by their leader Sibu Bhagat, some time ago, this section of the Tanas, taking with them only such cash as they had, started for the Sat Pahari Hill in the neighbouring Hazaribagh district where they expected the advent of a Saviour or deity. But when after long waiting in vain for his appearance, they found they had nothing left in their purses to buy food with they applied to their leader for directions, and Sibu solemnly declared that the gods desired that they were no longer to observe such restrictions in food, drink, and conduct as they had so long observed, and that they might thenceforth freely enjoy *sorho singar batiso ahar*—i. e., “all [the sixteen] kinds of carnal pleasures and all [the thirty-two] kinds of food”. Sibu further declared, “You need no longer cultivate your fields, for we fed our land-lords for the last thirty-two generations and supported them by our labours; it is now their turn to feed us

and support us for the next thirty-two generations".

This incident illustrates the futility of borrowing such exotic ideas and practices as do not fit in with the particular type and level of culture of the recipient community. Such exotic ideas, it is obvious, can never propagate themselves and take permanent root unless they can secure the congenial soil of a similar type and level of culture as that in which they originated, or at any rate unless they continue to receive for a sufficient length of time the fostering care of the alien cultivators who may have introduced the seeds.

Such is the new movement amongst the Oraons—a movement born of a distrust of their old deities. The line of development that the new movement has followed has, as we have seen, been on the whole coincident with their traditional ways of thought and belief. Thus, for one thing, the old animistic spirits and ancestor-spirits of the Oraon have been exchanged not for an invisible and immaterial Spirit of the Universe of the higher Pantheism of the Hindus but for the Nature-gods and Hero-gods of popular Hinduism. Such exotic ideas as were too high for the ideals of the animistic Oraon have in the process of borrowing been, as we have seen, transformed and perverted beyond recognition. On the whole, however, the influences exerted on their mind and their ideals by inter-communication with their Hindu and Christian neighbours would appear to have been considerable in modifying, developing and vitalising their religion.

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## ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES AND QUERIES.

The Birhors of Chota-Nagpur keep account of money paid or borrowed as well Counting by knots as of other things taken or given on strings. by making knots on a string made of *chop* (*Bahunia Scandens*) fibre ; and to signify the interval between different transactions of the kind, a proportionate space is left between the successive knots. Thus, if three rupees are paid or taken at one time, and two at a subsequent time, three knots are made and then two a little apart from the former.

*The Editor.*

The Birhors of Chota-Nagpur believe that mosquitoes (*Sikuri*) are the emissaries Mosquitoes. of certain evil spirits. In order to bribe these emissaries, a Birhor places, on a Sunday, a handful of boiled rice and vegetables on the roof of his hut, saying—"Take this and go away. Do not visit us again". It is believed that the mosquitoes so bribed or propitiated will leave the hut.

*The Editor.*

The Birhors believe that bugs (*uris*) cease to infest a hut when it is smoked Bugs. with the smoke of fire kindled with the wood of a tree struck by lightening.

*The Editor.*

The Birhors believe that earthquake is produced Earth Quakes. by a mythical man of gigantic stature sleeping at the bottom of the earth and turning round in his sleep.

*The Editor.*

The rainbow, according to the Birhor, is formed  
of the sprays of water gurgled out  
**The Rain-bow.** by a serpent called the *banda-lele.*

*The Editor.*

The thunderbolt, according to the Birhor, is the  
arrow which Ram-Lakshman shoot  
**Thunderbolts** from time to time at certain yellow  
frog (*chokey*) which hops about from  
tree to tree and croaks at night in the rains and  
against which Ram-Laksman have an ancient grudge.  
These arrows or thunderbolts are believed to be  
represented by the stone celts now and then dug up  
or ploughed up in the country. *The Editor.*

Hoar-frost (*ratang*) is said by the Birhor to  
be the offspring of hail-stones.  
**Hoar-frosts and** The appearance of abundant hoar-  
hail-stones. frost in the winter is taken to  
indicate that there will be no hail-  
storms that year. And, conversely, the absence of  
hoar-frost in the winter is believed to indicate that  
there will be many hail-storms in the following rainy  
season. Frosts are believed to accumulate in the sky  
in winter and come down as hail in the rains.

*The Editor.*

Dreams, according to the Birhor as according to  
the Oraons and several other Chota-  
**Dreams.** Nagpur tribes, represent the actual  
experiences of the soul—the scenes,  
places and persons it visits and incidents in which  
it takes part—when the soul leaves the body tem-  
porarily in sleep or illness. *The Editor.*

In the Central Provinces the custom of drilling holes in the teeth is widely practised and those who can afford to do so fill the holes up with a little gold. It is now regarded as a matter of beauty, but the older people regard it as a purificatory process, in that all food and water taken get touched by gold which purifies them before they go down the throat. In several communities especially peasant tribes, Sonwani (from *sona*, gold and *pani*, water) is a common sept whose members occupy a quasi-priestly position, and readmit offenders into caste by giving them water to drink in which gold has been dipped. Those getting maggots into their wounds are also purified by having such water sprinkled on them. Till then they remain out of the caste. In some places turmeric is substituted for gold, apparently on account of the similarity of their colour.

*Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, B.A.,*

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

1. **Primitive Society.** By Robert H. Lowie, Ph. D., (pp. 463; *Boni and Leveright, New York*, 1920, *third printing*, 1921. Price \$ 3-0-0 Net )

We welcome this publication which is practically the only work covering almost the entire field of primitive social organisation. It is a valuable up-to-date study of primitive society with regard to the Family and the position of woman, Marriage and Kinship, Clan and 'Sib' organisation and other types of association in primitive society such as sex-groups, age-grades, trade unions and the like, Property and Rank, Government and Justice. As is but natural, the author draws mostly upon American facts for the basis and illustrations of his theoretical discussions. Although the addition of more illustrative material from other parts of the world and a discussion of such material would undoubtedly add to the value and usefulness of the work, students who have not specialised in American Ethnology will be thankful to Dr. Lowie for bringing out in relief many interesting data of American Indian sociology with which they have not been quite familiar and which it would indeed be difficult for them to extract from the bewildering mass of material collected by the industry of American sociologists. The author vehemently attacks the unilinear theory of social evolution, emphasises the variety and multiplicity of social relations in primitive society and the complex structure of primitive social organisation, and con-

cludes that cultures develop mainly through borrowings due to chance contact.

Civilization, according to Dr. Lowie, is a planless hodge-podge, a thing of shreds and patches. Although all anthropologists will not see eye to eye with the author in all his views as to social origins, the book will undoubtedly prove a very useful companion to the student and the teacher. And it is to be expected that the author will soon follow up the present volume with a companion volume dealing with the other no less interesting departments of primitive society—namely, Religion and Magic, Mythology and Folklore, Language and Morals.

**2. The Origin of Man and of His Superstitions.**  
*By Carveth Reid, M. A., (PP.-XXII+350)*  
*Cambridge University Press, 1920; Price, 18 S. Net.*

This is an extremely interesting book in which the learned author attempts a psychological interpretation of the results of Anthropology and Sociology. According to our author, Man was differentiated from a hypothetical primitive anthropoid stock which he calls the lycanthropoid stock—a cross between the ape on the physical and the wolf on the mental side—by becoming a hunter perhaps in the Oligocene period. Of the four or five types of mammalian societies the primitive human or rather pre-human society, according to our author, resembled that of the hunting-pack. Traits of character (which man shares with members of hunting-pack of wolves) such as gregariousness, sympathy, antagonism to

outsiders, loyalty to leaders, co-operation, emulation, recognition of precedence gained by prowess in fighting, are traced by our author to primitive man's habit of co-operative hunting. Many of the amusements and occupations of modern man including even the pastime of feeding, and the origin of laughter and humour are remotely traced to the hunting-life of primitive man, and the growth of constructiveness, language, claim to property, benevolence, commercial sympathies and loyalties and external antipathies are traced as further consequences of the hunting-life.

Thus the hunting pack, according to our author, was the first form of human society, and he discusses the mental conditions under which the change must have taken place from the organisation of hunting pack to the settled life of the tribe or group. According to our author, the reason why the human mind is everywhere befogged with ideas of Magic and Animism is to be sought in the fact that "these superstitions were useful and (apparently) even necessary in giving to elders enough prestige to preserve tradition and custom when the leader of the hunt was no longer conspicuous in authority." And thus "a magic-working gerontocracy was the second form of society; and the third form was governed by a wizard-king or a priest-king, or by a king supported by wizards or priests." It is in order to explain how beliefs in Magic and Animism arose and obtained a hold on tribes and nations that the author devotes the second and major portion of the book to a consideration of belief and superstition, magic and taboo, animism, the relations between magic

and animism, omens, the mind of the wizard, totemism, magic and science. Magic is grouped into "direct" and "indirect," the latter being divided into two branches the 'sympathetic' and the "exemplary." After a lengthy discussion the author tells us that animism as a belief in separable spirits is probably of later growth than magic, but the interactions of the one upon the other are recognised and discussed at length. As for totems, Mr. Reid inclines to agree with Andrew Lang that they were in origin mere names given by outsiders to various groups and gradually accepted by the members of the groups themselves, later savage explanations giving rise to different myths among different tribes. Exogamy and other marriage customs grew up independently through social needs and by natural selection, and the connection established later between marriage and totemism is more or less adventitious and not inherent.

In the last chapter the author traces the historical relations between magic and science and concludes that magic did rather more to hinder than to advance the cause of science, though Animism is indirectly the great nurse of Science and Art. "Philosophy has derived from Animism most of her problems—free-will and predestination, final causes, creation and miracles, emanation and intuition, idealism and materialism, immortality, the being and attributes of God, eternity, infinity—in some of which, indeed, magical ideas are deeply concerned: all of them the exercise of the most eminent minds, exercise so delightful and so disappointing. Considering their source, we cannot

wonder these problems remain problems, and that philosophical discussion has, of late years, turned from them to questions concerning the theory of knowledge".

Although the student is not presented with much new material in this book, it is unquestionably a highly interesting and stimulating work and will form a welcome addition to the library of every anthropologist and psychologist.

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